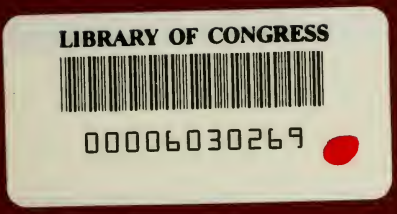
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MODERN HISTORY:

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FROM THE

COMING OF CHRIST

AND THE

Change of the Roman Republic into an Empire,

TO THE

YEAR OF OUR LORD 1842.

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2
250-2

Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuntia vetustatis.—*Cicer. lib.* II. *de Orat. n.* IX.

VOLUME I.

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY,
146 MARKET STREET.
MDCCCXLII.

Entered, according to the Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-two, by Louis Regis Deluol, in the Clerk's office, of the District Court of Maryland.

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PREFACE.

The utility of History as a branch of public and private instruction has always been admitted. Cicero calls it "the witness of ages, the torch of truth, the life of the memory, the oracle of life, the interpreter of the past," and does not hesitate to say, that "To be ignorant of what has happened before one's birth, is nothing less than to remain in a continual state of childhood." (Cicer. in orat. *n.* xxxiv). Plutarch informs us that Cato the Censor, whose name and eminent qualities reflected so much honor upon the last days of the Roman Republic, composed for his infant son, and, with his own hand, wrote in large characters, a description of remarkable actions taken from the lives of illustrious Romans; in order, said he, that this child might be enabled, from his very infancy, and without leaving the paternal roof, to become acquainted with the great men of his country, and to imitate those ancient models of probity and virtue.

History is an immense repository, whence we may, with little labor, derive extensive knowledge, and draw many instructive and useful lessons; nor is there any study (except that of Religion) better calculated to improve all the faculties of the soul. By its means, the memory is furnished with a multitude of interesting events; the judgment continually improves, from the assiduous attention which is given to objects well deserving of notice; and experience. so necessary in life, is easily ac-

quired, because we appropriate to ourselves that of others, and become wise at their expense. History conduces also wonderfully to the improvement of the heart. Every where it affords moral examples adapted to the different stations and conditions of social life. Every where it presents to our imitation models of courage, of patriotism, probity, disinterestedness, generous sentiments and heroic actions. Its pages, indeed, are frequently filled with the narrative of various crimes, but these it mentions only to inspire us with horror for them, and to convince every one that unruly passions, besides degrading humanity, generally prove the cause of the subversion of empires, not less than of the ruin of private individuals and families.

History gives us another very important instruction, in the continual change and succession of kingdoms and empires. There we behold the all-wise and powerful Providence of God displaying itself in the course of human affairs; sometimes granting to his people good and virtuous rulers; at other times, permitting political storms to burst forth, wars to rage, and wicked men to reign for the chastisement of nations; then deriving good from evil, and secretly, though not less effectually, regulating all events, even those in which our limited reason can perceive only the agency of creatures. Thus we are taught to humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, to refer every prosperous effect to Him, as its only real and independent cause, and to expect from Him alone a lasting happiness.

These advantages are to be found chiefly in Modern History, which extending to many more countries than the history of former ages, presents us with more numerous and remarkable instances of the effects of divine jus-

tice upon kings and nations. It likewise abounds, much more than the periods long since past, in heroic deeds, and, including the times of the Christian era, exhibits a much greater multitude of personages worthy of being proposed as models of virtue, than could ever be afforded by the ancient Greeks and Romans. Hence, Modern History, though generally little known, should be considered as peculiarly important and useful: not indeed, as we find it in the works of many recent authors, such as Hume, Gibbon, and others, whose partiality, prejudice, or even irreligion, appears in almost every page of their works; but as it ought to be presented to the reader, in a spirit of candor and impartiality, after a sincere and diligent research on the part of the writer.

The present course includes all the time which has elapsed from the coming of Christ, and even from the battle of Actium (B. C. 31), to the age in which we live. Although a shorter duration than this is commonly, though arbitrarily, assigned to Modern History, we have thought proper to refer its beginning to the memorable epoch termed in the Scripture *the fulness of times*, (Ephes. I. 10), and nearly coinciding with the change of the Roman Republic into an Empire after the battle of Actium. We have thus, in reckoning from the dispersion of the sons of Noah, a very natural division of Universal History into two nearly equal portions, the one *before*, the other *after* the coming of Christ; and whilst we take a view of the civilized world during the last eighteen hundred years, we also perceive the connexion which it had with the Christian Church from her foundation.

To treat of each nation separately, is not the object of the present work; we are not writing a collection of par-

ticular histories, but a general one: nor, on the other hand, is it our intention to confine ourselves, as is too frequently done, to a meagre outline of names, dates and facts, without mentioning their necessary circumstances; but, by selecting from the best historians of the different nations, whatever is most important and worthy of notice, to present, as far as possible, a detailed and connected view of the whole. Nothing more can be reasonably expected from an elementary course of this class: if it omits no essential fact or circumstance, and, at the same time, does not impede the progress of the narrative by introducing numberless events of secondary importance, surely nothing more can be desired in this respect, either for instruction or amusement. There is no other means of imparting, in an interesting manner, a sufficient knowledge of History. Should any disadvantage occasionally arise from this plan, it will be compensated by synoptical and chronological tables; and, moreover, facts of an extraordinary nature, or which have been commonly misrepresented in modern publications, will be illustrated by notes placed at the end of each volume.

As a conclusion of these preliminary remarks, and an immediate introduction to Modern History, some idea must be given of the political disturbances which so long agitated ancient Rome, and terminated in the destruction of the Commonwealth.

The Romans, by their invincible patience and constancy during seven hundred years, had conquered almost the whole of the then known world; viz. Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Illyria, etc. But, at the same time, all kinds of vices were introduced. Love of country and respect for the laws were gradually

superseded by luxury, avarice, intrigues, and an almost universal corruption. Public employments and dignities, the emoluments of which had increased, were solicited with extraordinary avidity; ambitious candidates sought only to flatter the people; and generals of the same character strained every nerve to gain the troops over to their party, even resorting to extravagant promises and presents.

Sylla, having obtained, after his great victories, the Dictatorship for life, proved to the world that Rome could endure a master. Like him, Pompey and Julius Cæsar successively rendered themselves all-powerful. The violent death of the latter, who was slain in the Senate, augmented, instead of lessening the evil. There were now three competitors for the supreme power: Antony, Lepidus, and the young Octavius, grand-nephew and adopted son of Cæsar. During their triumvirate, all in Rome who were most remarkable for their courage and their opposition to tyranny, were destroyed: Cicero was put to death; Brutus and Cassius were defeated at Philippi; and with them expired the liberty of the Roman people.

Octavius and Antony, having removed the feeble Lepidus, made various agreements respecting the division of power; the young Cæsar, more dexterous than his colleague, always found means to obtain the better share, gained the popular favor in Rome, and rapidly advanced to the sovereign authority. Antony, in his attempts to repair his losses, engaged in a new civil war, which served only to accelerate his utter ruin. His defeat in the battle of Actium, and his death which followed soon after, left Octavius undisputed master. This memorable event, which took place in the year 722 after the building of

Rome, and thirty-one before the coming of Christ, brings us to the beginning of our course of Modern History, which includes eight parts or epochs, in the following order:

The first part comprises the time which elapsed from the battle of Actium (B. C. 31), to the accession of Constantine (A. D. 306); including 337 years.

The 2d . . . . . from the accession of Constantine (A. D. 306), to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West (A. D. 476); . . . . . 170 years.

The 3d . . . . . from the fall of the Roman Empire in the West (A. D. 476), to its revival under Charlemagne (A. D. 800); . . . . . 324 years.

The 4th . . . . . from the revival of the Western Empire under Charlemagne (A. D. 800), to the beginning of the Crusades, (A. D. 1095); . . . . . 295 years.

The 5th . . . . . from the beginning of the Crusades (A. D. 1095), to their termination (A. D. 1272); . . . . . 177 years.

The 6th . . . . . from the end of the Crusades (A. D. 1272), to the discovery of America (A. D. 1492); . . . 220 years.

The 7th . . . . . from the discovery of America (A. D. 1492), to the Treaty of Paris, in which the Independence of the United States was solemnly acknowledged (A. D. 1783); . . . . . 291 years.

The 8th . . . . . from the Treaty of Paris (A. D. 1783), to A. D. 1842; . . . . . 59 years.

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ERRATUM.

Page 115, line 7, for *Roman* read *Gothic.*

MODERN HISTORY.

PART I.

FROM THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM (B. C. 31), TO THE ACCESSION OF CONSTANTINE, (A. D. 306).

ROMAN EMPIRE.

AUGUSTUS.—B. C. 31. A. D. 14.

On his return to Rome, after the battle of Actium, Octavius, afterwards called Augustus, deliberated whether he should abdicate or retain the almost unlimited power which he possessed. He felt more inclined to the latter measure; but his mind was a prey to fear and anxiety, when he considered the love of the Roman people for liberty, and the danger to which, by preserving the supreme authority in his own hands, he would be unavoidably exposed.

To act the more prudently in a matter of such importance, he caused the alternative to be discussed in his presence by his two dearest and most trusty friends, Agrippa, a celebrated warrior, and Mæcenas, a profound politician. Dion Cassius the historian, has transmitted to us the contradictory advice of these two great men. Agrippa first delivered his opinion, and, though a relative of Augustus, and the chief instrument of his victories, openly declared for a generous abdication of the supreme power into the hands of the senate and people. He represented the great danger of attempting to govern, in the capacity of sovereign, men born and raised in a Republic; nor did he fail to insist on the striking precedent of Julius Cæsar, who, a few years before, had been killed in the senate, for hazarding a similar project.

Mæcenas was of a different opinion: to him the scheme of abdication appeared more brilliant than prudent; and he strenuously maintained that it would prove fatal to all parties. Were Augustus to descend to the condition of private life, his death would be sought and easily procured by his enemies; while, on the other hand, considering the violent storms which had lately shaken the republic, and looking over the broad extent of the Roman dominions, it was evident that Rome could no longer subsist without a monarch.

Augustus having patiently heard his friends, and thanked them for their advice, determined to follow the opinion of Mæcenas, without entirely rejecting that of Agrippa. He accordingly retained the sovereign power, but would not assume the title and insignia of a king, contenting himself with the name of emperor (imperator), then the usual appellation of commanders of armies. His object was to effect a real change, and yet apparently to preserve the ancient form of government. The consuls and other public officers were appointed as regularly as before, and although subordinate and accountable to Augustus, exercised the same functions which they had to perform in the days of the Commonwealth. He also divided the provinces between himself and the Senate, to which body he assigned the nearest, as being the most peaceable; but reserved for himself such as were more exposed to the attacks of an enemy. He thus concentrated in himself the whole military power, holding the command of the standing troops, who were stationed in those provinces only which were liable to invasion.

Notwithstanding the doubtful nature of these measures, truly beneficial to the Romans was the use which Augustus made of his great authority. "After twenty years continuance," says Velleius Paterculus, "the civil contests ended, foreign wars ceased, peace was re-established, hostilities were every where quelled; vigor was restored to the laws, authority to the tribunals. . . The fields

were again cultivated; sacred things were respected, and the lives and property of the citizens placed in a state of security."* Nor did Rome and Italy alone reap the fruits of these happy improvements. The several provinces, before distracted by civil wars, or plundered and harassed by the avidity of their governors, now began to recover from all those evils, and to enjoy their former prosperity.

No sooner did Augustus see his authority well established in the Capital, than he set out (B. C. 27), to visit the various parts of the Empire, Gaul, Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, etc. Residing in each for some time, he regulated the government, enacted suitable laws, and applied himself particularly to the repression of licentiousness, which he, although his own conduct was not blameless, justly considered as one of the greatest evils of the state.

The progress of science and literature formed one of the principal objects of his attention. Cicero, Sallust, and Cornelius Nepos having been, a short time before, snatched away by death, Augustus endeavored to repair this loss, by encouraging the genius of others so as to make them contend successfully with the Greek writers in eloquence and poetry. Such especially were Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Livy; all of whom enjoyed the uninterrupted favor of Augustus, except however the poet Ovid, who, having been a witness of some shameful disorders in the Emperor's family, was, on that account, banished to Tomos, a town of Scythia near the Euxine Sea, where he ended his life the same day on which Livy died at Padua (A. D. 17). Livy left a complete history of Rome, from its foundation to his own time, consisting of 140 books, most of which are lost; yet, the few which

* Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubiquè armorum furor; restituta vis legibus, judiciis auctoritas. . . . . Rediit cultus agris, sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio.—*Vell. Paterc. Hist., part 2d.*

have been preserved, are sufficient to place their author in the first rank of historians, particularly for his noble and elegant style. Horace died almost suddenly, in the 56th year of his age (B. C. 8). Virgil having gone to Greece, where he expected to procure the proper information and tranquillity necessary for the completion of his Æneid, was prevailed upon to return with Augustus to Rome. Although laboring under indisposition, he embarked on the Adriatic; the navigation augmented the violence of his disease, and he expired on his arrival at Brundusium, at the age of 51 years (B. C. 19). His remains were interred at Naples, and on his tomb was placed the following epitaph composed, it is believed, by himself: it contains, in two verses, the place of his birth, that of his death and burial, and the subjects of his various poems:

I sung flocks, tillage, heroes; Mantua gave
Me life, Brundusium death, Naples a grave.*

Virgil, not having had time to give the last touch to his principal poem, commanded just before his death, that it should be cast into the flames; but this rigorous order, happily for literature, was not executed. Augustus, besides preventing its destruction, took care that nothing should be added to the work, a circumstance which accounts for the many unfinished verses found in the Æneid. Its author is justly looked upon as the prince of Latin poets. He was moreover skilled in mathematics, geography, natural and moral philosophy; and, what is still more admirable, amidst the general esteem in which he was held for his talents, he always preserved a modest deportment; he was plain in his manners, even at court, and pure in his morals, even in the most corrupt of ages.

* Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuêre, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.

The wisdom of Augustus was like an abundant spring whence happiness flowed without interruption, spreading itself over every portion of the world and through every class of society. Governing others, as he himself would have wished to be governed, he marked all the years of his reign by numerous acts of wise and prudent administration. His behavior towards the senate and the people exhibited a happy mixture of condescension and firmness. When deliberating on public affairs, he was not offended at seeing his opinions strenuously opposed. When inclined to anger, his custom was, either to leave the company for a moment, or, in compliance with an advice which he had received from the philosopher Athenodorus, to repress the feelings of nature, before saying or doing any thing. With regard to the people in general, he was studious to conciliate their favor by public exhibitions and largesses; and the Romans saw, with the utmost pleasure, not only abundance and security completely restored among them under his government, but their city also wonderfully embellished by his orders and care. According to his own expression, "He found it of brick, and left it of marble;" nor did he trespass on the rights of the inhabitants, preferring to leave some works unfinished or imperfect, rather than encroach upon the property of others.

Equally admirable was the conduct of Augustus towards particular persons. He excused the senators from all troublesome ceremonials, and would not suffer them to wait upon him at the palace, in order to conduct him to the senate-house: here he received their compliments and returned their salutations, calling them by their names. Nor did he extend this mildness and affability to senators only, or to persons of distinction; he permitted all to approach him, and was accessible even to the citizens of the lowest classes, receiving their petitions with kindness, and encouraging those whom reverential awe rendered timid and bashful.

Very many instances are related of his moderation and clemency towards those who behaved disrespectfully in his regard. The following one will suffice. As he was making preparations for a journey, a senator, named Rufus, said at an entertainment: "I wish that Augustus may never come back again;" and jesting about the number of victims which were usually sacrificed in thanksgiving for the emperor's return, he added that all the oxen and calves entertained the same wish. These words were carefully treasured up by some of the guests. The next day a slave of Rufus reminded his master of what he had said when heated with wine, and advised him to go and be the first to declare his fault to the emperor. Rufus followed the advice. He hastened to the palace, presented himself before Augustus, and attributing his conduct of the previous day to a fit of madness, begged him to forgive his foolish temerity. Augustus granted his demand. "Cæsar," said Rufus, "no one will believe that you have restored me to your friendship, unless you make me a handsome present." The prince granted this also, adding with a smile: "For my own sake, I will take care not to be angry with you in future."

However, Augustus did not always suffer the odious imputations cast upon his character to pass unnoticed. A proper care of his reputation often induced him to repel them, either by discourses delivered in the senate, or by declarations publicly made in his name. But he was a stranger to revenge. Tiberius, who succeeded him, and who was of a very different character, having once exhorted him to punish an insult, Augustus replied: "My dear Tiberius, do not abandon yourself too much to the vivacity of your age, and be not so indignant at those who speak ill of me; it is enough to prevent them from doing us any harm."

Who would imagine that a man of such mildness and moderation had, in his youth, shed so much blood, and committed so many cruelties? This change in Augustus, though springing perhaps from interested views, cannot but

appear truly astonishing. Examples may be found of a good natural disposition corrupted by constant prosperity, and especially by unlimited power; but to find, in such circumstances, bad qualities removed, and succeeded by noble and generous feelings, is extremely rare.

A government so mild, and possessing so many advantages both for the state and for private citizens, excited a general esteem and love for its wise regulator. Even when he proposed to the senate, with more policy than sincerity, the resignation of his power, the senators, either through a dread of new evils, or through attachment to his person, entreated him to continue in the possession of the supreme authority. He had, or pretended to have the modesty to accept it only for ten years; but it was successively bestowed upon him for ten more, when that term had elapsed.

Still more honorable for Augustus was the manner in which he received, in compliance with the desire of the whole nation, the title of *Father of his country*, a title so eminently glorious when truly merited. At first, the people offered it to the emperor by a solemn embassy; Augustus having refused, all the inhabitants of Rome insisted, and with unanimous acclamations earnestly begged that it should be accepted. In fine, the senators agreed among themselves to make a last effort; and one of their number, Messala, in the name of all, addressed Augustus in these terms: "Cæsar, the senate together with the Roman people proclaim you the Father of the country." The emperor, moved even to tears, answered: "Senators, having reached the summit of my wishes, what else can I ask of the immortal gods, than that I should always deserve and obtain from you the affectionate sentiments which you have just expressed?"* This was truly the happiest day of his life.

* Cæsar Auguste, senatus consentiens cum populo Romano, te consalutat patriæ patrem. Cui lacrymans respondit Augustus his verbis: Compos factus votorum meorum, P. C., quid habeo aliud Deos immortales precari, quàm ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi perferre liceat? *Sueton. in August.*

Still, as there are always some discontented persons, even under the most moderate governments, Augustus was not secure from secret conspiracies. He showed himself inexorable in the punishment of the first offenders, Ignatius Rufus, Murena and Cepion; but he pursued a different course in the case of Cinna, a grand-son of Pompey, whose party many persons of high standing had joined. The emperor was informed of the bold design by one of the accomplices, and this information threw him into the greatest perplexity. Must he again shed torrents of blood, or would it be more expedient to forgive? This alternative was the subject of a conversation between him and his wife Livia, and to the empress is attributed the honor of having induced her husband to lean to the side of clemency. His resolution being formed, he sent for Cinna, named in his presence all the conspirators, whose leader he was, and showed himself perfectly acquainted with the manner, time and place which they had appointed. Cinna was thunderstruck; but greater yet was his surprise, when Augustus, after enumerating the benefits he had conferred upon him, added: "Cinna, I forgave you once, when you were found in the camp of my enemies; I now pardon you a second time, after you have attempted to be my murderer. Let us become sincere friends, and by our future conduct towards each other, make it doubtful which is greater, my generosity or your gratitude."

With such noble language Augustus united equally generous proceedings. He nominated Cinna consul for the ensuing year, and gave him many other marks of particular affection. In return, Cinna became the faithful friend of his sovereign, and was ever afterwards inviolably attached to his interests. The emperor derived a still more valuable advantage from his clemency on this occasion; it completed his popularity in Rome, and from that time effectually prevented conspiracies against his person and authority.

The most memorable event during the reign of this prince, was the birth of our Savior. Augustus unintentionally contributed to the accomplishment of the designs of Heaven on this point: as he had issued a decree that the whole world should be enrolled, every one in his own city, the Blessed Virgin was obliged to go with St. Joseph from Nazareth to Bethlehem, a little town of the tribe of Juda.* There, as the Prophet Micheas had foretold†, the Son of God was born, and commenced the work of our redemption, about 4000 years after the creation of the world, 753 after the building of Rome, 31 after the foundation of the empire.

The birth of Christ coincided with the very uncommon circumstance that the temple of Janus was shut; this was the case only during a universal peace. From Romulus to Augustus, an interval of 700 years, it had been shut only twice: first, during the reign of Numa, and a second time, between the first and second Punic wars. The tranquillity which the world now enjoyed, was a figure of that spiritual peace which the eternal Son of God had come to impart to mankind.

This tranquillity originated chiefly in the moderation of Augustus. No sooner did he find himself without a competitor in Rome, than his views became wholly pacific. He never undertook a war except through necessity, and when the advantages expected from it far exceeded the loss that might be feared. His usual saying was, that they who, without hesitation, purchase small advantages by running great risks, resemble a man fishing with a golden hook, the value of which far exceeded that of all the fish he might hope to catch. On the same principle, he frequently blamed Alexander for having continually sought to extend his empire by warfare, rather than govern it in peace, and watch over its internal prosperity.

Still, Augustus was compelled to engage in several

* Luke, ii. 1, 3, etc. † Micheas, v. 2.

wars, most of which became successful through the ability of his generals. The Cantabrians in Spain were defeated by Agrippa. Tiberius repressed the rebels of Dalmatia and Pannonia, subdued the Rhetians in despite of their mountains, and humbled the pride of Maroboduus, a powerful king of the Marcomans; whilst his brother Drusus, a young hero, made four glorious campaigns in the heart of Germany, and extended his conquests as far as the river Elbe. The Roman arms were every where respected: the Parthians returned the prisoners and colors that had been in their possession since the defeat of Crassus (B. C. 53); and the nations of India sought, through embassies, the alliance and friendship of Augustus.

These brilliant successes were followed by a disaster, the more grievous to the prince and to the people, as it was quite unexpected. Quintilius Varus, who commanded in Germany five Roman legions (about 25,000 men), and some auxiliary troops, gradually rendered himself odious to the inhabitants by his love for money and great extortions. His imprudence soon caused his complete overthrow. He obstinately refused to give ear to the warnings which he received of a threatened insurrection, and was even prevailed upon by Arminius, a young German prince whose fidelity he did not suspect, to divide his army into several separate bodies, and to station them in different quarters. These scattered troops were easily destroyed by the natives, and the revolt became general. At length, the Roman general, aware of his danger, hastened with three legions to subdue the rebels; but he imprudently suffered himself to be blocked up between woods and marshes; Arminius, with all the forces he could collect, attacked him during the night and amidst the horrors of a violent storm. The Romans fought bravely, but in vain; they were cut to pieces together with their commander and officers, and but very few escaped to carry back the tidings of the defeat (A. D. 9).

Never was Augustus so much afflicted at the news of

any misfortune. When he was apprised of the event, he rent his garments in excess of grief, and was often heard to cry out: "Varus, restore me my legions." He feared moreover that the Germans would pursue their victory, invade Italy and attack Rome itself: but the danger was not so great as had been imagined, and the following year, Tiberius easily checked the progress of the enemy.

Another source of grief for Augustus, in his advanced age, was the misconduct of some of his children and grandchildren, whom he was obliged to send into exile. The death of those around him, in whom he had placed all his confidence, such as Agrippa and Mæcenas, and whom he expected to be the future support of his throne and family, likewise pressed heavily upon him. Drusus, his step-son, was taken off in the midst of his victorious career: Marcellus, his nephew and son-in-law, died at a premature age; as did also Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the emperor's grand-sons, children of Agrippa.

Next to Augustus, Agrippa was beyond dispute the first man of his age, great in peace and in war, illustrious in the field and in the cabinet. Sicily, Greece, Germany, Gaul and Spain, were successively the theatres of his military achievements. In time of peace, his mind was ever occupied with grand and noble designs all tending to the public good; and he has rendered his name immortal by works far surpassing in splendor and magnificence those of any other private individual. Qualified to hold the first rank in a republic, he contented himself with the second under Augustus, who made him his son-in-law, colleague, and intended successor.

The intimacy of their friendship reflects equal honor on both. Agrippa obtained the favor of Augustus without mean condescension and flattery; and Augustus, without either distrust, or jealousy of Agrippa's conspicuous merit, raised him almost to an equality with himself. After the death of so faithful a friend, he honored his remains by magnificent obsequies, at which he himself pro-

nounced the funeral oration, and, as he had been so closely attached when living, to his person and family, he would not suffer him to be laid in any other tomb than that destined for himself.

Mæcenas too, although indolent with regard to his own affairs and person, was an able minister, who united a superior mind with beneficence and modesty. He always endeavored to procure the advantage of others, and on the contrary never availed himself of the emperor's friendship to promote his own interest. To him and to his constant protection are science and literature principally indebted for the high degree of perfection which they attained under the reign of Augustus.

Drusus, as we have already said, conquered a great part of Germany. As a Roman, no one ever surpassed him in noble and generous feelings; as a general, he was equalled, in that age, only by Agrippa and his own son Germanicus.

In fine, Marcellus, a young prince possessed of uncommon talents, and still more admirable for his moral virtues, was, in every respect, deserving of his high rank and fortune. He had already acquired general esteem, was the hope of the Romans and the pride of his uncle Augustus, when death exhibited in his person a new instance of the frailty of human grandeur. This made Virgil say in the 6th book of his Æneid:

> "This youth, the blissful vision of a day,
> Shall be just shown on earth, and snatched away."—*Dryden.**

And again, after alluding to the great hero of the same name, conspicuous in the second Punic war:

> "Ah! couldst thou break through fate's severe decree,
> A new Marcellus would arise in thee."†

These beautiful verses, when first publicly recited, drew

* Ostendent terris hunc tantùm fata, neque ultrà
Esse sinent.

† Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris.

tears from all who heard them, and particularly touched Augustus and his sister Octavia, the young prince's mother, who remained inconsolable till death.

Thus the emperor was compelled to centre, if not all his affection, at least all his expectation in Tiberius. He now chose him for his colleague and successor, as the only one whom he knew truly capable of upholding the Empire. He himself, however, did not entirely withdraw from the cares of government, a burden always agreeable to his ambition. Even, when his health was declining, his mind continued ever busy and active. At length, whilst travelling through the south of Italy, on his way from Beneventum to Rome, he fell dangerously ill, and could not proceed beyond Nola in Campania. When he saw that the end of his life was near, he ordered a looking glass to be brought to him, and his hair to be dressed; then called in his friends, and asked them if they thought he had well played his part in the drama of life. Being answered in the affirmative, he cried out in a Greek verse with which the ancient plays generally terminated: "Give me then your applause." Thus, at the age of seventy-six, after reigning forty-five years, he expired on the 19th of August, a month formerly called *Sextilis*, but to which he had given his name. He was buried at Rome with great pomp, and divine honors were paid to his memory.

Augustus possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications necessary to become the founder of the Roman Empire; viz. penetrating genius, energy of soul, activity, and above all, a consummate prudence under all possible circumstances. His long administration may be proposed, in most points, as a model of excellent government; and he himself might be looked upon as one of the best of princes, could we forget that the mild and beneficent *Augustus* had once been the fierce and cruel *Octavius*. Hence, the common opinion entertained respecting his public character is, that it would have conduced greatly

to the happiness of mankind, if *Octavius* had never been born, or if *Augustus* had never died.

The census of the Roman citizens was taken several times under his reign. In the beginning, they amounted to 4,063,000, and towards the end, to 4,137,000; shortly after, under the Emperor Claudius, there were found to be nearly 7,000,000; these numbers comprise not only the inhabitants of Rome, but all persons in every part of the Empire, who had obtained by birth or by special privilege the right of Roman citizenship,* such as was possessed by St. Paul, a Jew and a native of Tarsus in Cilicia.† To ascertain precisely the population of the city of Rome at that epoch, seems quite impossible; but from a variety of circumstances, it may be reasonably supposed to have amounted to about 2,000,000.

TIBERIUS. A. D. 14—37.

Immediately after the death of Augustus, Tiberius, who had now completed his fifty-fifth year, assumed all the marks of the imperial dignity. He was the son of the Empress Livia, by a former marriage with Tiberius Nero. His mother, indeed, by her credit and influence, greatly contributed to his elevation, but it was perhaps owing chiefly to his own military and political talents; and these would certainly have fitted him for his high station, had he not chosen to act the part of a vicious and tyrannical prince.

Shortly after his accession to the throne, Tiberius began to manifest the perverse inclinations of his heart.

* See Tillemont, histoire des Empereurs, 6 in 4, vol. 1, p. 4, 48, 244.
† Act. App. xxi, 39; and xxii, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Naturally morose and cruel, jealous of any glory acquired by others, he was full of dissimulation, and the more to be dreaded, as he knew how to conceal his anger. It sometimes happened that, whilst he was politely entertaining individuals in his palace, sentence of death was pronounced against them, by his orders, in the public tribunals of Rome. The most trifling faults in matters regarding his government, were visited with the penalties of high-treason.

With such a prince it was dangerous to jest. Having postponed the payment of some legacies bequeathed by Augustus to the Roman people, a wag, who wished to remind him of his obligation, took advantage of a funeral passing along the street, approached the bier, and feigning to whisper something in the ear of the dead man, said, in a tone loud enough to be heard by the bystanders: "Pray, remember to tell Augustus that his legacies are not yet paid." The emperor, having been informed of this piece of wit, sent for the unfortunate jester, paid him his portion of the legacy, and ordered him to be put to death immediately, saying: "Let him go himself to Augustus, and he will be able to give him later and better news than that carried by the dead man." The jest however had its desired effect, and the legacies were shortly after paid to the people.

Notwithstanding the vices and tyranny of Tiberius, his reign was not altogether inglorious. At home, it exhibited many acts of justice, firmness and munificence; and it was marked abroad by many successful events, the honor of which belongs partly to Drusus, his son, but chiefly to Germanicus, his nephew, son of the former Drusus.

On the reception of the first news of the late emperor's death, the legions stationed both in Pannonia and Germany for the defence of these countries, openly revolted, demanding from their leaders, with alarming threats, an increase of their pay and an earlier discharge from military service. Drusus and other persons of high

rank, with a few cohorts, were despatched to quell the insurrection in Pannonia. On their arrival, they found every thing in dreadful confusion, which neither the presence of Drusus, nor the reading of his father's letters, was able to remove. He on the contrary had the mortification to see his guards and counsellors exposed to the violence of the soldiery, and himself to insulting cries and clamors. The following night seemed to threaten the perpetration of still greater crimes, when, in a clear and serene sky, the moon was beheld suddenly, though gradually, losing its brightness. The overawed soldiers, unacquainted with the cause of the eclipse, considered it as a token of the wrath of Heaven, and of the frightful punishment which awaited their disobedience.* Drusus and his council skilfully availed themselves of this favorable circumstance, and, ordering the leaders of the rebels to be arrested, had them executed on the spot. After this, most of the soldiers speedily returned to the strict rule of military discipline; the three legions were then separated without much trouble, and sent to distant quarters; by which measure the few remaining sparks of rebellion were easily extinguished. Drusus, having thus re-established good order, and deeming his presence no longer necessary in Pannonia, set out for Rome.

Germanicus, who held the command in Germany, had many more difficulties to encounter in staying the revolt of his numerous troops. It was only by extraordinary exertions, by subjecting himself to every hardship and even endangering his life, by opportunely exercising severity and lenity, that he was enabled to revive discipline and regularity among the legions both of the Upper and Lower Rhine.

* Noctem minacem, et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit: nam luna claro repente cælo visa languescere. Id miles rationis ignarus omen præsentium accepit.....sibi laborem æternum portendi, etc.—*Tacitus, Annal. lib.* I, *n.* XXVIII.

Passing then from one extreme to the other, the soldiers despatched with their swords all who had been foremost in the rebellion; and afterwards, in order to exercise their valor more properly, asked to be led against the barbarians. Germanicus readily complied with their desire. He threw a bridge over the Rhine, advanced into the hostile country with a numerous troop of chosen men taken from the legions and the allies, and suddenly attacked the Germans with great slaughter, whereas among the Romans not one soldier was wounded.

An account of this disaster soon reached several of the neighboring tribes. Inflamed with resentment, they took up arms; and, posting themselves to advantage, surrounded the woods through which the victors were to pass, in returning to their camp. After skirmishing with the front and the flanks of the army, they fell with their whole strength upon the rear. The light cohorts of the auxiliary troops found themselves unable to sustain the shock, and began to be thrown into confusion; when Germanicus, riding at full speed to one of the legions, cried aloud that the time was now come for them to efface, by a noble exploit, the guilt of the late revolt; "Let them charge with courage, and gain immortal honor." Animated by these words, the legion rushed to the attack, and, at the first onset, broke the ranks of the enemy. The barbarians fled to the open plain; the Romans pursued them with dreadful carnage. From that time, the march was unmolested, and the soldiers went into winter quarters.

Tiberius received the intelligence of these events with mingled pleasure and anxiety. That the sedition was at an end, was to him a source of satisfaction; but he feared that the success of Germanicus would inspire him with the idea of claiming the throne for himself. This was a groundless suspicion. The young prince, by refusing the empire proffered to him, at the time of the revolt,

by the mutinied legions, had just given an incontrovertible proof of his constant fidelity. Still nothing could diminish the secret envy of Tiberius, and he only waited for some opportunity, or rather sought some pretence, to recall his nephew to Rome.

In the mean time, Germanicus had matured his plan of operations for the ensuing summer. He opened the campaign by a sudden and successful irruption into the territories near the Rhine. After this, he prepared to march against the main forces of the enemy, then assembled under the command of the same Arminius who had, six years before, obtained a memorable victory over the Romans. Four legions and the cavalry proceeded by land; Germanicus, with four other legions, embarked on the German Sea, the more easily to reach the mouth of the river Amisia. All arrived in due time at the place of destination, and the whole army marched towards the forest where the bones of Varus and his legions were said to lie unburied.

As the Romans were advancing, an awful spectacle met their view and excited in every breast feelings of horror. They saw the ground white with bones, in some places thinly scattered, in others lying in heaps, as the unfortunate soldiers of Varus happened to fall in flight, or in a body resisted to the last. Fragments of javelins and the limbs of horses lay scattered about the fields; human skulls were seen upon the trunks of trees; in the adjacent woods stood the blood-stained altars on which the tribunes and principal centurions had been offered up in sacrifice: and near the decaying intrenchments of the Roman camp, was the spot where some, who at first escaped the general massacre, were supposed to have made their last effort, and perished in the attempt.

All were affected at this mournful sight, and with hearts oppressed with grief, buried the remains of their slaughtered countrymen. This duty performed, they pressed forward in pursuit of an enemy whom it was not less dif-

ficult to overtake than conquer. At length, Germanicus deeming the opportunity favorable, ordered his cavalry to begin the attack. But Arminius, taking advantage of the defiles and other difficult parts of the country, feigned a retreat to the forest; then, suddenly wheeling about, he gave the signal to the troops that lay in ambush in the woods, to rush out against the Romans. The cavalry which had been advancing, and the auxiliary cohorts destined to support it, struck with surprise, were put to flight, and might have been entirely defeated, had not Germanicus come up with the legions in order of battle, and checked the career of the enemy. The armies parted on equal terms, and retired to winter quarters, not however without the loss of many brave men on the side of the Romans; whilst the survivors were exposed to innumerable hardships, which they overcame only by their fortitude and patience.

In all this variety of events, Germanicus invariably displayed the greatest personal courage, extraordinary prudence, and a constant solicitude for the welfare of his troops. His ability in improving every advantage and every occasion of success, was particularly remarkable. When the Germans were to be attacked and driven from some post, he took upon himself the most arduous part of the attempt, leaving the easiest duties to his lieutenants, and yet attributing afterwards to their conduct so much of the success, that three of them, Silius, Apronius and Cecina, obtained triumphal honors.

He looked upon the soldiers as his children, and treated them with truly paternal kindness. He never uselessly exposed them to dangers, nor fought any battle, except when almost certain that he would obtain a considerable advantage. After an engagement, he visited the wounded, consoled them by placing before them the glory of the past and the hope of the future, supplied their wants, and with his own money indemnified those who had suffered any loss in the campaign. So many virtues and amiable

qualities endeared Germanicus to his troops, whilst his valor and skill made him formidable to the enemy. The only fault perhaps in his conduct, is the unrelenting and inhuman rigor with which he carried on the war against the Germans, spreading slaughter far and wide, and laying the whole country waste with fire and sword, without regard to age or sex.*

What has already been said of the Germanic war, belongs to the years 14 and 15 of our Lord. To ensure the success of the next campaign, Germanicus determined to have all his troops conveyed by water into the heart of the enemy's country. By his orders, a fleet consisting of a thousand vessels was fitted out for the intended expedition. They sailed from the eastern channel of the Rhine, proceeded over the lakes, and entering the German Ocean, stretched away as far as the river Amisia. There the men disembarked, and the ships were left safe at their moorings. The Romans advanced through the plain, crossed the Visurgis (Weser), and attacked the Germans, who were encamped on the right side of the river.

At the signal given by Germanicus, the infantry began the assault in front; the cavalry, at the same time, charged the flank and rear; both attacks were made with so much ardor, that the barbarians, notwithstanding their natural bravery, were thrown into confusion and driven from all their posts. Yet Arminius performed wonders; by his voice, by signs, by every means in his power, still endeavoring to sustain the combat. Wounded as he was, and nearly surrounded, he braved every danger, and at length by vigorous exertions, escaped from the field, having previously besmeared his face with his own blood, in order to disguise his person.

The enemies were now completely routed. The victory cost the Romans little or no effusion of blood; but the country, ten miles round, was covered with mangled

* *Tacit. Annal. lib.* I, *n.* LI, LVI; and *lib.* II, *n.* XXV.

bodies and the arms of the vanquished. Among the spoils was found a large quantity of fetters, which the Germans, in the anticipation of victory, had destined for the Roman prisoners. The legions, on the field of battle, again proclaimed Tiberius emperor, and having raised a mound, placed on the top of it a pile of German arms, trophies of their victory, with an inscription at the base setting forth the names of the conquered nations.

To the Germans nothing could be so exasperating as this monument of Roman glory. Inflamed anew with the desire of revenge, they raised new troops, and once more resolved to try the hazard of a battle. Their martial spirit was not less than that of the Romans: still, after a fierce and obstinate combat, they were again defeated, and many of them, seeing that further resistance would be fruitless, surrendered at discretion.

The summer being now far advanced, Germanicus ordered some of the legions to return by land to winter-quarters; he himself sailed with the rest down the river Amisia to the Ocean. The weather was favorable, and the sea presented no other roughness on its surface than that occasioned by the stroke of the oars and the rapid motion of a thousand vessels. But this calm was of short duration. The sky became overcast; a storm of hail burst upon them with sudden fury; squalls of wind drove the billows in different directions; and the pilot no longer knew what course to steer. Horses, arms and baggage were thrown overboard in order to lighten the ships; still many of them were either sunk, or wrecked on distant islands, where the soldiers perished by famine or lived only upon the carcasses of horses cast by the sea upon the beach.

At length the storm abated, and the remaining vessels successfully reached the land. Germanicus driven almost to despair, took every possible care to gather and comfort his troops, and furnished them with new arms and clothes. Having refitted the fleet, he sent ships to the islands scattered through the German Sea, in search of the soldiers

who had been cast away: by these timely efforts most of them were saved.

The news of these disasters spreading abroad, the Germans thought of renewing the war; but Germanicus was not slow in counteracting their designs: two or three parties of Roman troops very soon proved to them the frailty of their hopes. According to the account given by the prisoners, there never was seen among the barbarians more general consternation: they were now forced to confess that the Romans rose superior to adversity, a nation of heroes not to be in any way subdued; and no doubt remained but that another summer would terminate the war.

Tiberius could no longer brook the idea that Germanicus should acquire so much glory in the command of armies, and he ardently desired his return. All his letters were to that effect. In them, he remarked that it would be much more expedient to abandon the Germans to their own dissensions, and that it was now high time for their conqueror to return, and enjoy in the Capital the glorious repose due to his protracted labors. Germanicus obeyed, though with reluctance. His entrance into the city exhibited a magnificent spectacle; and, that nothing might be wanting to the splendor of the occasion, Tiberius ordered money to be distributed among the people and the soldiers, in the name of the young prince. He moreover appointed him his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year; but these marks of good will, though specious, were by no one thought sincere.

It is true, however, that what he had foreseen with regard to the termination of the war, really happened. The different nations of Germany, no longer dreading a foreign power, began, according to the custom of barbarians, to quarrel among themselves. Various battles were fought, in which Arminius, at the head of his countrymen, the Cheruscans, maintained his former glory, and gave to the power of the Marcoman King Maroboduus, a fatal blow from which he never recovered. About the same time,

letters were received at Rome from another German prince, in which he proposed to despatch Arminius, provided poison should be sent well prepared for that effect. These letters were read in the senate; but the proposal was magnanimously rejected, and, in imitation of the noble conduct of ancient generals in similar circumstances, Tiberius answered the German prince that it was not by poison and fraud, but by steel and open force that the Romans were accustomed to subdue their enemies.

Arminius however did not long survive. When he saw the Roman troops withdrawn from the German territories, and Maroboduus his chief rival fallen, he had the ambition to aim at the sovereign power. The independent spirit of his countrymen turned many of them against him: Arminius fought with various success, and fell at last by the treachery of his own relations; "A man," says Tacitus, "undoubtedly to be considered as the deliverer of Germany, and with far more honor than generals and kings of former days, as he had not merely to cope with Rome in her infancy, but to struggle against her, now that she had grown into a flourishing and powerful empire. He attacked the Romans in the height of their glory, and in his efforts against them, was sometimes victorious, often defeated, yet, in the issue of the war, still unconquered."* He lived only 37 years, during twelve of which he commanded the Germanic league; leaving after him a renown very great indeed, but tarnished by his attempt to wrest from his countrymen that liberty which he and they had so long and so gloriously defended.

The death of Arminius lulled the emperor's apprehensions with respect to the Germans, who, having lost their hero, did not for a long time excite any dangerous disturbance, but were contented with the peace which the Romans suffered them to enjoy. This was the great object which Tiberius had ardently wished: he desired

* *Tacit. Annal. lib.* II, *n.* LXXXVIII

nothing so much as to prevent troubles and maintain tranquillity in the empire. Hence, whilst he exercised his tyranny in Rome, Italy and the provinces had comparatively little to suffer under his government. On many occasions, he manifested great zeal for the due administration of justice, and, although addicted to many gross vices, endeavored to stem the torrent of general corruption. Acting up to his own maxim, that *the sheep must be sheared, not flayed*, he was careful that the subjects of the empire should not be oppressed by too heavy taxes, and attentive to afford speedy assistance to those who happened to fall into unavoidable misfortunes.

Thus, when many parts of Asia Minor were laid waste by a tremendous earthquake which destroyed in one night twelve celebrated cities (A. D. 17), the liberality of the emperor was an abundant source of relief to the surviving inhabitants. He granted a remission of all tribute for five years, and sums of money proportionate to their losses. By this generosity, Tiberius gained great encomiums, and the cities of Asia, to perpetuate its remembrance, struck medals—some of which are yet extant. A few years after, all that quarter of the Capital on Mount Cælius was destroyed by a conflagration; Tiberius, without waiting to be solicited or petitioned, and without any partiality for the rank of the sufferers, equally indemnified all those whose houses had been burnt: such as had no friend or protector at court, were sent for, and received the sums necessary to rebuild their dwellings. At another time, he gave a hundred millions of sesterces (about three millions of dollars), to repair the losses occasioned by a similar accident. These acts of generosity were the more to his honor, as he was very modest in his own buildings. In fine, there was another kind of public calamity that claimed and drew forth his munificence. The practice of exacting heavy interests, and the want of a good currency, having caused scenes of great distress among the people, he procured a considerable fund to be

lent out of the imperial treasury, without interest, for three years, on condition that the borrower, for the security of the exchequer, should give a mortgage on lands of double the value. By that seasonable aid public credit was revived.

These various examples plainly show that Tiberius was not so regardless of the miseries of his subjects as some writers assert. Yet, notwithstanding these generous acts, it must be confessed that his character was really perverse and cruel. From his very youth, these defects had appeared; so much so, that his tutor declared him to be a lump of clay moistened with blood. Hence Rome and the patrician families had much to dread and suffer from his suspicious policy. It was even a misfortune to be nearly related to him; a great part of his own family became the unhappy victims of his cruel and jealous temper.

Germanicus, after his triumph, was sent to Asia with great powers from the emperor and the senate, to settle some important business, and tranquillize many of the provinces in which great disturbances had lately been excited. He faithfully excuted his commission, and conferred upon those countries innumerable benefits, with a courteous dignity which enhanced their value. Every where, his noble and generous conduct attracted equally the praises and affections of the people.

But Cneius Piso, a proud and violent man, had been at the same time appointed by Tiberius governor of Syria, with secret orders, as it was believed, to annoy, oppose and counteract Germanicus in every thing: a commission which, whether given or feigned, was too faithfully performed. For a long time the young prince bore with patience and moderation the affronts and injuries heaped on him by his vile persecutor, and even treated him with generosity; an open rupture followed, shortly after which Germanicus fell sick and died at Antioch, under the impression that he had been poisoned by Piso and his consort Plancina.

Intense was the grief occasioned throughout the empire

by the death of Germanicus. When his disconsolate widow Agrippina carried back in an urn the ashes of her husband, she found the roads covered with people whose tears and sighs told her how deeply they shared in her affliction. But it would be difficult to describe the sorrow evinced in the Capital. The day on which the remains of the prince were deposited in the tomb of Augustus, was one of inexpressible mourning. Tiberius himself was compelled to manifest exteriorly a grief in which his heart had no share, and to abandon Piso to the public indignation. This unhappy man was not, it is true, convicted of the crime laid to his charge; but he had committed other crimes deserving the severity of the law. Piso perceived his danger: before the trial was concluded, he was found dead in his chamber, with his throat cut, and a sword lying near him on the floor; but whether he had committed suicide, or had been killed by others for fear of what he might disclose, was left uncertain.

The other enemies of Germanicus met with little severity; on the contrary, his family supplied new victims to the insatiable hatred of Tiberius. So far did the cruelty of the emperor extend, that he caused Agrippina and her two eldest sons to perish by ill-treatment and starvation. Having a real affection for no one but himself, he bore with a firmness bordering on insensibility, the death of his own son Drusus, who had been poisoned by the commander of the prætorian (imperial) guards.

This commander was a certain Ælius Sejanus, who, gaining the favor of Tiberius, rose from the rank of a simple knight to that of his chief minister. New honors were daily conferred upon him, and in a short time his power was not far inferior to that of Tiberius himself. Not satisfied with this success, he conceived the daring design of opening his way to the throne by the extermination of the imperial family. After Drusus and the sons of Germanicus were removed, he prevailed upon the emperor to retire from Rome for the sake of greater tran-

quillity, and to intrust the reigns of government to him, *his tried and faithful minister*. But whilst Sejanus, thus far successful, was revolving in his mind the last step for the accomplishment of his designs, his treason was detected; and Tiberius having informed the senate, by a message, of the whole affair, sentence of death was pronounced against the traitor and excuted without delay. Most of the friends and relations of Sejanus were involved in his ruin.

Whilst these painful transactions took place in Rome, Judea was the theatre of most interesting events. For more than three years, our Lord favored it with the public spectacle of his heavenly virtues and the preaching of his Gospel, which he confirmed by many miracles; and finally, by his passion and death, he completed the great work of the redemption of mankind (A. D. 33). Three days after, he rose glorious from the dead; frequently appeared to his disciples, giving them, during forty days, various necessary instructions about the establishment and government of his Church; appointed St. Peter the chief pastor of the whole Christian flock*; commissioned him and the other Apostles to go and teach all nations, with the positive promise of his daily assistance till the end of the world†; and finally ascended into heaven in their presence.

After ten days, the Apostles being all assembled in Jerusalem, the Holy Ghost came down upon them in a visible manner. They immediately began to preach with astonishing success. The first two discourses of St. Peter converted eight thousand Jews; many more afterwards became converts; so that, even before the close of Tiberius's reign, a numerous Church was already established in Jerusalem, whence the light of the Gospel began to diffuse itself in every direction and in every part of the world.

* John xxi. 16, 17. † Matth. xxviii. 19, 20.

These are the only consoling objects which present themselves to our view in the midst of a deluge of crimes: for no age was ever more corrupted. Tiberius above all, without ceasing to pay some attention to the public weal, every day gave fuller scope to his unruly passions, and to his tyrannical cruelties against the first families of the empire. Informations, trials and executions were multiplied, and the most illustrious personages in Rome gradually disappeared, unhappy objects of the hatred of a suspicious and sanguinary prince.

Nothing can be imagined more degrading to humanity, than the scenes which marked the last years of his life. No less odious to himself than to others, he retired into the small and at that time delightful island of Caprea, a name which no one ever after remembered or pronounced without horror. There he abandoned himself, for several years, to all the excesses of the most profligate passions, his cruelties always keeping pace with his debaucheries. Sometimes, standing on the shore, he would order those whom he had doomed to die, to be precipitated from the rocks into the sea, where soldiers with long poles beat their mangled bodies, the more effectually to extinguish any remaining spark of life.

At length his constitution was broken, and his strength began to fail. In the hope of finding a more salubrious situation, he left the island of Caprea, and went over to the continent, where, falling very sick at Misenum, a promontory near Naples, he was, on the 16th of March (A. D. 37), seized with a fainting fit, during which many thought him dead. He however recovered his senses: but Macro, the commander of the prætorian guards, who had already paid his homage to the presumed successor, gave orders that the old emperor should be smothered with pillows. Thus, in his seventy-eighth year, and the twenty-third of his reign, Tiberius perished by the perfidy of his own friends, a treatment of which he himself had been so frequently guilty.

He did not reach at once that height of wickedness which has justly caused his memory to be held in detestation. Tacitus well observes a striking gradation in his course of vice and tyranny, and accurately defines its different stages. "Tiberius," says he, "was much esteemed whilst a private man, and as long as he held offices under Augustus. He was artful in feigning virtue, in the beginning of his own reign, until the death of Germanicus and Drusus; his actions were a mixture of good and evil during the life time of his mother Livia; detestably cruel, but secret in his debaucheries, while he loved or feared Sejanus; lastly, he abandoned himself to every sort of profligacy, when, freed from all the restraints of fear and shame, he knew and followed no other guide than the bent of his abominable inclinations."*

Phædrus, the celebrated fabulist, and Quintus-Curtius, the elegant historian of Alexander, lived under Tiberius; the poets Persius and Lucan flourished shortly after.

CALIGULA.—A. D. 37—41.

One of the sons of Germanicus, not only had escaped the ruin in which the rest of his family were involved, but even constantly enjoyed the favor of Tiberius, and became his adopted son. This was Caïus, better known by the name of Caligula, (from *Caliga*, a sort of military boot which he had been accustomed to wear, whilst yet a child, in the camp of his father). He succeeded the late emperor without opposition, and even to the great satisfaction of the whole empire; indeed he seemed at first, by several acts of clemency and beneficence, to deserve this mark of public esteem. He restored many privileges to the people; delivered innocent and calumniated persons from prison or banishment; abolished arbitrary prosecutions

* *Tacit. Annal. lib.* VI. *n.* LVI.

for crimes of state; and evinced such good intentions, that he received from the senate the most flattering honors.

But the joy of the Romans was not of long duration, and their hopes of a prosperous government were cruelly deceived. Caligula was taken dangerously ill, and after his recovery, either because he was unwilling any longer to restrain his passions, or because his intellect had been impaired by the violence of the disease, he began to act like a madman, and indulged in every species of injustice, cruelty and lust.

He commenced his extravagant career by spending, in games and foolish entertainments, two billions five hundred millions of sesterces (about sixty-three millions of dollars), in less than one year; and when the public treasury was drained, he had recourse to the most frightful extortions. Daily confiscations, oppressive taxes, rapine, murder and plunder of the wealthiest citizens, were the means to which Caligula resorted, in order to gather heaps of gold and silver for the indulgence of his uninterrupted extravagance. On one occasion, being at play, he happened to want money. He sent for the public register which contained the names of the property-holders, condemned a certain number of them to death, and said, with a smile, to those with whom he was playing: "How unlucky you are! It has taken you a long time to win a small sum, and in one moment I have won six hundred millions of sesterces (fifteen millions of dollars)."

In barbarity Caligula was never surpassed. He wished that the Roman people had but one head, that it might be struck off at a blow. This being impossible, he at least caused many persons to be massacred by his soldiers, or thrown into the arena, there to be devoured by wild beasts, their tongues having been previously cut out to prevent them from complaining. He forced others to kill themselves, among the rest young Tiberius his cousin, and grand-son of the late emperor. Neither rank nor age was exempt from his fury. At a repast with the two con-

suls, he suddenly burst into a loud laugh: the consuls having respectfully entreated him to acquaint them with the cause of his extraordinary joy; "I was thinking," he replied, "that it requires but a sign from me, to have both of you killed in an instant." It was his pleasure to see the victims of his monstrous cruelty suffer the most excruciating torments; his delight to make them feel death, and behold their blood flowing and their limbs scattered.

The more ferocious and barbarous he was towards men, the more kind and feeling he was towards beasts. He honored his horse, called *Incitatus*, in every manner he could imagine: he gave him a palace, with guards, servants, a cook, and such other attendants as the happy animal might require, in order to entertain his guests with due solemnity. He invited him to his own table, at which he gave him gilded barley to eat, and wine to drink in golden cups. Incitatus was clothed in purple, wore a collar of pearls, and the night before he had to run in the race, sentinels were placed around his palace, to prevent the least noise that might disturb his repose. In fine, Caligula was accustomed to swear by his horse, and he would have appointed him consul, had he not been prevented by death.

His military exploits were not less extravagant. Besides the numerous legions stationed in various parts of the empire, he raised new troops, and went with them and a band of comedians, buffoons, and gladiators, to join the old legions encamped on the banks of the Rhine. Here he found himself at the head of nearly 250,000 men. As the Germans scorned to fight against such a general, that he might not leave the frontier without some semblance of victory, he contrived a scheme in perfect accordance with his character. A detachment of his own troops was sent to the other side of the Rhine, with secret orders to conceal themselves in a wood. Then Caligula, crossing over at the head of the legions, marched against them; the

pretended enemy was easily routed, and the emperor returned crowned with laurels.

His courage impelled him afterwards to go to the sea-coast facing Great Britain. As soon as he arrived, he drew up the legions along the shore, and having gone up a short distance in the imperial galley, returned in great haste and gave the signal for battle. The soldiers with surprise asked who was their enemy; when Caligula informed them that the enemy was the ocean just conquered by him in their presence, and that they had nothing else to do than collect the shells thrown on the shore as trophies of this great victory. The better to perpetuate the remembrance of so glorious an event, he laid the foundation of a lofty tower, and set out for Rome, in order to give himself the honors of a triumph.

To fill up the measure of his absurdities, he even arrogated to himself divine honors. He had a temple erected to his name, and a statue to which sacrifices were offered. Of the order of sacrificators instituted for this purpose, the principal members were his uncle Claudius, his wife, his horse, and himself.

At last it entered into the mind of Caligula that the Jews were a most unhappy people in not acknowledging him as a god; he therefore resolved to have his statue placed and adored in the temple of Jerusalem. But before he could execute his design, a violent death closed his career of crime and impiety. Cherea, a tribune of the pretorian guards, stabbed him in the middle of Rome, after he had reigned four, and lived twenty-nine years (A. D. 41). His name is every where recorded as that of the worst of men and a monster of cruelty.

CLAUDIUS.—A. D. 41—54.

On the assassination of Caligula, dreadful confusion followed in Rome. It was the wish of the senate to re-establish the commonwealth: but the prætorians proclaimed

Claudius emperor, and the senators were compelled to submit.

This Claudius was the brother of Germanicus, and uncle of Caligula; a man of so weak an intellect and such unconquerable timidity, that his mother Antonia, when she met with any silly person, was accustomed to say: "He is as great a fool as my son Claudius." Such a man was assuredly more in need of being governed, than qualified to govern others; yet, for the greater humiliation of heathen Rome, Almighty God permitted him to hold the sceptre during thirteen years. The most important event of his reign was an invasion of Great Britain, which reduced a considerable part of that country to the Roman power. Hitherto, the Britons had retained their original independence; but, at the instigation of Beric, a British chieftain whom domestic factions had driven from his native land, the emperor commanded Aulus Plautius to undertake the expedition with four legions and their auxiliaries. It was not without great difficulty that the troops were induced to engage in the attempt, and go to another world; for such they considered Great Britain. At length they followed their general, crossed the channel, and landed, as it appears, in the county of Kent. The natives, notwithstanding their fright at the first appearance of the invaders, made a gallant resistance; but, overpowered by the well-disciplined troops of the Romans, they soon began to give way, and Plautius, pursuing his advantage, arrived at the mouth of the Thames. No sooner was Claudius informed of the success of his lieutenant, than he set out to take the command in person. He did not however stay more than sixteen days in the island. After receiving the submission of the natives in the vicinity, he returned to Rome, where he enjoyed the honors of a magnificent triumph.

The war nevertheless was not yet ended. Plautius, who was left behind with a powerful army, spent four years more in extending and securing his conquests.

Vespasian, an officer whose merit afterwards raised him to the throne, greatly distinguished himself in that expedition. At the head of a Roman legion and some auxiliaries, he fought thirty battles, took twenty towns, and subdued two of the British nations. Thus, a great part of the country north and south of the Thames, was reduced into a Roman province.

Five years after the beginning of the war (A. D. 48), Plautius went to receive, in the Capital of the empire, the reward of his services, and was succeeded in Britain by Ostorius Scapula, who not only kept, but even enlarged the conquests of his predecessor. Soon after his arrival, he was suddenly attacked by the Britons bordering on the Roman province, who thought that an extraordinary effort might rid them of their invaders, at a time when the new general was yet unacquainted with their manner of warfare and the rigor of their winters. Ostorius, sensible how much the reputation of a commander depends on his first success, immediately marched against them, cut to pieces those who resisted, and dispersed the survivors. A second victory, which in a short time followed the first, gave him a decided superiority over the natives.

Still, the Silures who lived between the Severn and the Irish Sea, were not so easily subdued. Led on by Caractacus, the greatest warrior in the country, they continued to defend their liberty with undaunted courage. Their army, by the arrival of many allies, became very numerous, and so great was their animosity against the Romans, that Ostorius could not without difficulty be induced to give them battle. His troops loudly insisting, and crying out that they were sure of victory, Ostorius looked upon their ardor as a happy presage, nor was he deceived in his expectations. No obstacle could successfully oppose the Roman legions. They crossed a river, entered the enemy's intrenchments, and amidst a shower of darts, occupied the heights on which their adversaries had posted

themselves. The Silures were entirely defeated. The family of Caractacus fell into the hands of the victors, and the chieftain himself, betrayed by his own relations, was delivered in chains to the Roman general.

This event was celebrated at Rome with great joy. "The fame of Caractacus had already crossed the seas; and the natives of Italy were anxious to behold the man who had braved for nine years the power of Rome. As he passed through the imperial city, he expressed his surprise that men who possessed such palaces at home, should deem it worth their while to fight for the wretched hovels of Britain."* He appeared in the presence of Claudius with characteristic magnanimity, and, whilst the other prisoners bewailed with tears their unhappy fate, he behaved and spoke like a hero. The emperor treated him with kindness, and set him and his family at liberty.

The other events of the reign of Claudius are little worthy of notice. His government was a mixture of good and evil, from the variety of good and evil counsels which he received, and according as he was left to his natural moderation, or controlled by base advisers. In private, he led a contemptible life, and after being infamously dishonored by Messalina, his first wife, he was poisoned by his second wife Agrippina.

This Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, was a wicked and ambitious princess, who used her utmost endeavors to secure the succession to the throne for Domitius, her son by a former husband. Having at length prevailed upon Claudius to adopt Domitius, and confer on him the title of Cæsar, to the exclusion of his own son Britannicus, she soon effected the object of her wishes, by poisoning the stupid emperor. He died in the 14th year of his reign, the 64th of his life, and the 54th of the Christian era.

* Lingard's Hist. of Eng. vol. I, A. D. 52.

NERO.—A. D. 54—68.

The son of Agrippina, on assuming the imperial crown, exchanged his birth-name Domitius for that of Claudius Nero, the name of his adoptive family. He had enjoyed the benefits of a good education under the philosopher Seneca. While controlled by this wise tutor, and by Burrhus, the commander of his guards, a man of great talents and integrity, Nero preserved a show of decency in his public conduct. Like Tiberius and Caligula, he commenced his reign by performing several laudable acts, took great care to have the city plentifully supplied with every thing needful, and gave considerable pensions to poor senators who could not otherwise support their rank and dignity. On a certain day, when a death-warrant was brought to him to be signed; "I wish," said he, "I had never learned to write." When the senate, on one occasion, had offered him their sincere thanks, he replied: "I shall be happy to receive your thanks, when I truly deserve them." In a word, Nero's actions, in the beginning, were characterized by clemency, liberality, kindness, and every thing calculated to win the affections of the people.

But his vices could not long brook restraint; his true character soon appeared in its native deformity, a compound of all that is cruel, infamous and base. His cruelty first displayed itself in the poisoning of his young brother Britannicus, whose gentle disposition had excited his fears lest he should gain too much upon the favor of the Romans. The poison which perfidious officers administered to the young prince at table, was so violent, that he presently lost the use of his senses, fell upon the floor, and soon expired. Nero, who was present, and scarcely eighteen years old, beheld that awful spectacle with the steadiness of a tyrant already hardened in crime.

This atrocious deed was but the prelude to another still more heinous, the murder of his mother Agrippina. He endeavored first to have her drowned in the sea; but, this plan failing, she was, by his command, slain in a house into which she had retired.

After such crimes, nothing, how horrid soever, can appear astonishing in the life of such a monster as Nero. He spared neither his first wife, Octavia, whose veins were opened by his orders; nor his second, called Poppea, whom, in a fit of rage, he killed by a blow with his foot; nor his tutor Byrrhus, whom, it was believed, he poisoned, in order to rid himself of his admonitions; nor his preceptor Seneca, who, together with the poet Lucan, being accused of having taken part in some conspiracy against him, was commanded to terminate his own existence; a command which both obeyed.* Nero sported with the lives of others, and Rome daily lost her most virtuous and illustrious citizens, the victims of his tyranny.

In the mean time, it was necessary to adopt measures for repelling the Parthians from Armenia, which they had lately invaded. Corbulo, a general of well known talents, was sent against them. When he arrived in Syria to take the command of the legions, he found them greatly weakened by idleness and insubordination. His first care was to subject them, as well as the new levies, to the laws of strict discipline, and to train them to the hardships of war by constant labor, painful marches or encampments, and other military exercises; by rewards properly bestowed and punishments justly inflicted; but particularly by giving to all the example of unshaken courage in dangers and unconquerable fortitude in enduring fatigue.

As soon as Corbulo could rely on his troops, he led them against the enemy. On their side, the Parthians advanced against him, under the command of Tiridate, a brother to their king Vologeses. According to their custom, they moved with rapidity from place to place, and by this wild

* See note A.

and desultory warfare, more than by victories, kept the country in constant alarm. Corbulo endeavored, but in vain, to bring them to an engagement: he was obliged to adopt the very plan of the enemy, and dividing his troops into separate bodies, at last succeeded in counteracting all the operations of Tiridate.

This however did not suffice to terminate the war, and more decisive measures were resorted to by the Roman general. He pressed forward, forced all the towns and fortresses in his way to surrender, and finally arrived before Artaxate, the capital of Armenia. It was taken in one day, and burnt, after sufficient time had been allowed to the inhabitants to save their lives. Tigranocerta, another important city, surrendered without resistance, and was spared by the conquerors. The Parthians, terrified at the sudden and repeated successes of Corbulo, sued for peace. It was granted, and even Armenia, which had been the chief occasion of this long struggle, was given as a possession to Tiridate, on the sole condition that he would lay down his diadem at the feet of the emperor's statue in the Roman camp, and afterwards repair to Rome, to receive it again from the emperor himself. Terms so favorable to his fortune the Parthian prince readily accepted and faithfully executed. Thus we see that the Romans were still terrible in battle, and moderate after victory.

What Corbulo did in Asia, was done in Great Britain by Suetonius Paulinus, another famous general. To him the Romans were indebted for the reduction of the Isle of Mona, now called Anglesey. But the Britons, availing themselves of his absence, formed a powerful league to recover their freedom, and to throw off a yoke which the insolence and oppression of the Roman soldiers rendered every day more oppressive. The whole province rose in arms; the colonies founded by the conquerors were laid waste with fire and sword; London and other municipal towns were pillaged, and their inhabitants

slaughtered to the number of 70,000 persons, all citizens or allies.

Suetonius had returned, and was now endeavoring to put down the insurrection. He formed his best troops into one body of about 10,000 men, and determined, notwithstanding the enormous disproportion between this number and that of the insurgents, to attack them, and bring on a decisive battle. For this end, he selected a spot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and protected in the rear by a thick forest. In that situation, he had no fear of an ambuscade, and the enemy had no access except in front. The Britons brought into the open plain that lay before them, an immense multitude, amounting to 230,000 warriors* under the command of Queen Boadicea, a woman of masculine courage. They were already exulting, and so confident of victory, that they had placed their wives upon wagons at the extremity of the plain, to enable them to survey the action, and behold the wonders of British valor.

When the signal for battle was given, the Britons seeing the Romans silent and motionless in their narrow defile, advanced with rapidity, and discharged their darts. At that moment, the legions rushed forward in the form of a wedge; the cavalry at the same time bore down upon the enemy, and overpowered all who dared to resist. The Britons betook themselves to flight, but were stopped by the wagons which they had placed in the rear. A dreadful slaughter ensued, in which 80,000 Britons are said to have perished; whereas the Romans lost only 400 men. This splendid victory, equal to any of ancient times, greatly contributed to keep Britain in subjection; the more so, as Boadicea, unable to bear the idea of such a defeat, survived but a very short time. Still, the country was not entirely subdued until the reign of Domitian.

Whilst, at the two extremities of the empire, Corbulo

* According to Dio-Cassius.

and Suetonius maintained its majesty, in Rome it was more and more degraded by Nero. He plunged without shame into every kind of debauchery. He frequently spent the night in running through the streets in the garb of a slave, accompanied by a band of rioters, with whom he attacked every one that he met, and stole whatever fell in his way. His delight during the day was to drive chariots in the circus, or to act the part of a comedian on the stage: there he danced, sang, and played on the lute, compelling the audience to admire him and give him their applause.

His daily expenses were enormous: he endeavored to dispel the horror which his crimes excited, by making large donations of lands, houses, gold, silver, jewels and other valuable objects, to the common people; also by having magnificent plays and shows frequently repeated. Not satisfied with all this, he was fond of exciting surprise by the singularity of his exhibitions, and would often unite, at the same time and place, shows of different and even contrary kinds: for example, a vast sheet of water would, the moment after a sea-fight had been performed on it, be instantly drained, and become a field of battle for land troops and gladiators. Dio-Cassius mentions one occasion on which the scene was changed in this manner four times in one day.

While Nero thus consulted the gratification of the people, he was still more attentive to his own. Not to mention the extravagant luxury of his table, he built a palace so magnificent, so profusely ornamented with ivory, gold and precious stones, that it received the name of the "golden palace." When it was finished, Nero said that then, for the first time, he had a decent habitation. He hazarded at gaming immense sums of money; never put on the same coat twice; never undertook a journey without taking along with him at least a thousand carriages, with a proportionate number of attendants in costly apparel, drivers splendidly dressed, and mules shod with silver. In fine, he

was as fond of his monkey as Caligula had been of his horse; and accordingly gave it dwellings in the town, and lands in the country, and after its death, buried it with royal pomp.

If to this profusion we add his mania for building, we shall easily conceive how the revenues of the whole empire were not sufficient for Nero. As he was determined constantly to follow up his extravagant principles, rapine and extortion became his only resource. Towards the end of his reign, so exorbitant were the contributions which he exacted, that not only Italy, but also the provinces, all the parts of the empire, and even the allies, were ruined.

His cruelties were always equal to his other enormities. The blood of illustrious citizens continued, under various pretences, to be spilt in Rome; "At last," says Tacitus, "Nero desired to destroy virtue itself, by putting to death Barea Soranus and Thrasea Pætus, the two most distinguished and virtuous members of the Senate.* Corbulo, as the reward of his great services, received sentence of capital punishment, the execution of which he prevented by killing himself; and Vespasian narrowly escaped the same fate, for having slept whilst the emperor was singing on the stage.

It seemed that nothing more was requisite to render Nero an accomplished monster, than that he should become an incendiary; and such he really became (A. D. 64). To him most historians attribute the famous conflagration which in that year destroyed two-thirds of Rome. It lasted nine days, during which there was nothing to be seen in the city but consternation and despair. Nero, on the contrary, from the summit of a tower, contemplated with delight the devouring flames, and, in a theatrical dress, sang verses on the burning of Troy. Such, at least, was the common report at the time.

* *Tacit. Annal. lib.* XVI, *n.* XXI.

The town was rebuilt upon a new and more regular plan; but the wretched prince, in order to remove the just suspicion that it had been set on fire by his orders, laid this crime to the charge of the Christians, who, by the apostolic labors of St. Peter and St. Paul, were already very numerous in Rome. As the purity of their lives was a censure on the corruption of the age, and their total separation from pagan festivities, an occasion of hatred and contempt, Nero thought them fit subjects for public vengeance.* Numbers of them were arrested, and doomed to suffer the most frightful torments. Some, wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, were left to be devoured by dogs; others, fixed to a cross, waited, in the most cruel agonies, the slow approach of death; others were burned alive, and many, covered with inflammable matter and set on fire, served as torches during the night in the imperial gardens. In order to enjoy this awful spectacle, Nero went through the avenues in his chariot, in the dress of a charioteer. It was during this persecution that St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom, the

* Thus an unjust and atrocious charge gave rise to the first persecution which the Church of Christ had to suffer from the Gentiles. It was fit that her first persecutor should be the same prince who proved an enemy to all virtue. But the example being once set by him, was afterwards too faithfully imitated, and from this time to the reign of Constantine the Great, the Christians were almost continually vexed and tormented, as well under the good as under the bad emperors.

These persecutions were carried on, sometimes by command of the emperors themselves urged on by ruthless magistrates; sometimes by an insurrection of the people; and sometimes by solemn decrees pronounced in the senate, upon the rescripts of princes, or in their presence. Then the persecution was more universal and bloody; and thus the malice of unbelievers, ever inveterately bent on destroying the Church, was excited, from time to time, to new acts of fury. From these successive outbreaks of violence, ecclesiastical historians reckon ten persecutions under ten emperors; viz. Nero—Domitian—Trajan—Marcus Aurelius—Septimius-Severus—Maximin—Decius—Valerian—Aurelian—and Diocletian . . . . . Of all the faithful, the bishops were always the most severely treated; of all the Churches, the Church of Rome was persecuted with the greatest violence; and thirty Sovereign-Pontiffs sealed with their blood that Gospel which they declared to the whole earth. *Bossuet's discourse on Univ. History, part* I.

former by the cross, the latter by the sword, both at Rome, and on the same day.*

Nero had now gone through all the stages of his execrable life. His power was upheld only by terror, and by numerous troops of satellites whom he amply rewarded. At length, all mankind, whose oppressor he was, rose up against him, after Vindex in Gaul, and Galba in Spain, had given the signal of the general insurrection. The news, at first disregarded by Nero, very soon filled him with terror and rage. He proposed to send assassins into all the provinces, to kill the governors, the generals of armies and the exiles, to poison the senators at a feast, to set fire to the town in various parts, and at the same time to let loose all the wild beasts kept for the public shows, in order to prevent the inhabitants from extinguishing the flames. He thought afterwards of raising new troops for his defence, or of moving by his tears the compassion of the army; and at length resolved to fly into Egypt. But he had neither time nor power to execute any of his designs.

The example of Vindex and Galba was readily followed throughout the empire, and even in the Capital itself, by the Prætorian guards. The tyrant then retired to a country-house, four miles from Rome, the property of a certain Phaon, one of his freed-men. The senate, after having been silent and timid for so long a time, now ordered that he should be apprehended and put to an ignominious death. Nero, at the first intelligence of the fatal edict, was struck with terror, and wept both at the approach of his last hour and at the loss of his musical voice. Whilst thus lamenting, he heard the sound of horses' feet, and

* The fact of St. Peter having established his See and suffered martyrdom in Rome, is incontrovertibly proved by the unanimous testimony of Christian authors, from the first ages; viz. Tertullian, lib. de Præscr. c. 36; Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. II. c. 14 et 24; Lactantius, de morte persec. n. 2; Sulpit. Sever. Hist. Sacr. lib. II; St. Jerom, de script. Eccles.; St. Augustine, contra litteras Petil. lib. II; Serm. 296, etc. etc.

the noise of the soldiers sent to drag him from his retreat, and already quite near the house. Preferring a voluntary death to the tortures with which he was threatened, he wished some of his attendants to embolden him, by setting him the example. As no one was disposed to be so complaisant, he drew a dagger, and applying it to his breast; "What a musician," said he, "the world is going to lose!" Still he hesitated: at length, with the help of Epaphroditus, his freedman, he stabbed himself and expired, in the thirty-first year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign (A. D. 68); the very same day (the 11th of June) on which he had put his unfortunate wife Octavia to death, six years before.

The family of Cæsar Augustus became extinct by the death of Nero. St. Augustine assigns to him the first place in the catalogue of wicked emperors;* an opinion which has been embraced by posterity: for, in the common judgment of men, no greater odium can be thrown on any prince, even on a profligate tyrant, than to call him a *second Nero*.

GALBA—OTHO—VITELLIUS.—A. D. 68—69.

Galba, that governor of Spain whom we have already mentioned, experienced no difficulty in causing himself to be acknowledged emperor. He was of noble extraction, venerable by his age, and distinguished by his abilities in inferior employments. But when emperor, his conduct answered neither the eminence of his dignity, nor public expectation. On the one hand, his excessive confidence in unworthy friends led him into many faults; on the other, his parsimony and severity provoked the hatred of the soldiers, who stabbed him in the middle of Rome, after he had reigned seven months.

* *De Civit. Dei, lib.* V. *c.* XIX.

Otho, a dissolute and ambitious man, who had been the chief leader of the conspiracy against Galba, succeeded him upon the throne. He was acknowledged only in the Capital and neighboring provinces, the legions of Germany having, about the same time, declared their commander Vitellius emperor. The two rivals had recourse to arms in support of their respective claims. Otho was successful for a short time only; his forces were partially overthrown at Bedriacum, a village near Cremona in Lombardy, and though he had still numerous armies at his disposal, he killed himself after a reign of three months; the whole empire now declared for Vitellius.

This however was not so much owing to the abilities of Vitellius himself, as to the exertions of his generals and the bravery of his troops. His personal merit consisted chiefly in eating and drinking. He took four abundant and costly meals every day. All countries and seas were laid under contribution, in order to furnish the most exquisite game and fish for his table. No repast could be offered to him below the value of four hundred thousand sesterces (about ten thousand dollars); so that even the richest citizens were ruined by the expenses which his visit occasioned. Lucius Vitellius, his brother, gave him a dinner in which two thousand fishes and seven thousand birds were served up at table. His guests were ruined both in their fortunes and their health by this uninterrupted good cheer, and one of them, called Vibius Priscus, having contracted a disease which dispensed him with attending those repasts, congratulated himself, saying: "I was undone, had I not fallen sick."

The sovereign power, thus degraded by so many contemptible princes, at last passed into better hands. The legions of the East, justly indignant at seeing those of the West and the Prætorians in Rome dispose of the empire at their pleasure, offered the crown to their own general Vespasian, a man of low birth, but of remarkable talents.

He hesitated for a time, fearing the unhappy consequences that might possibly happen; at length, he yielded to the advice and entreaties of his friends, and was acknowledged emperor by all the eastern provinces. But the main object was to induce the inhabitants of Rome and Italy to declare in his favor. As they continued to side with Vitellius, Vespasian resolved to subdue them by famine, and by stopping the convoys of provisions from Egypt. This was indeed a wise and prudent scheme, though it might have taken a long time to obtain full success; but Antonius Primus, one of Vespasian's generals, rendered it unnecessary, by the bold and decisive measure which he took to decide the quarrel at once. It is interesting to see how, in a few weeks, this general, full of ardor and activity, arrived from Illyria, surmounted all obstacles in his way, repeatedly defeated the Vitellian forces, and, pursuing his victorious career, attacked Rome itself, forced an entrance, and quickly terminated the contest, by annihilating the party of Vitellius.

Primus entered Italy by the north, at the head of the Illyrican legions, and some auxiliaries from Mæsia. His march was rapid, and met with little or no resistance, till he reached the neighborhood of Cremona, where he found himself opposed by those same legions of Germany, whose valor had placed Vitellius on the throne. Two of them formed a sort of van-guard, while six others were yet at a distance. Primus judged that the success of the whole campaign depended on preventing their junction, and fighting them separately. Accordingly, he took along with him four thousand horses, and leaving orders to the infantry to follow as speedily as possible, he advanced against the two legions. The victory was entirely his work. At the first attack, his soldiers, not expecting so vigorous a resistance, fled in disorder, notwithstanding the efforts of Primus to stop them. He appeared wherever there was extreme danger or some gleam of hope, pierced with his pike the standard-bearer whom he saw flying;

and taking the standard in his own hands, turned it towards the enemy. His intrepidity changed the fortune of the day. Shame at the thought of abandoning so brave a general kept around him about a hundred horsemen, and whilst they sustained the shock, their companions also returned to the field of battle. The Vitellians began to waver, were routed, and retired into the city of Cremona.

In the evening, all the forces of Primus were assembled. Animated by their first success, they asked to be led without delay to the attack of the town; nor could their ardor be checked until they received information that the six other Vitellian legions had just arrived, and were ready to renew the battle. Primus did not lose one instant: he arranged his troops, placed the auxiliaries in front; the legions, five in number, in the centre; the cavalry on the wings and rear; and in this order waited for the enemy.

The engagement became general towards nine o'clock at night; and, notwithstanding the confusion which darkness necessarily occasioned, was carried on with a fury scarcely to be conceived. Nearly the whole night, the issue was doubtful, though there seemed to be some disadvantage on the side of Primus, whose legions suffered dreadfully from the military engines of their opponents. The light of the rising moon began to turn the bloody contest in his favor. The shadows of bodies were projected towards the Vitellians, who deceived by the appearance, and believing the enemy to be nearer, did not throw their darts far enough: whereas they themselves were clearly discerned by their foes who hurled their weapons with unerring aim.*

No sooner could Primus distinguish objects, than he

* Neutrò inclinaverat fortuna, donec adultâ nocte, luna surgens ostenderet acies, falleretque. Sed Flavianis æquior à tergo: hinc majores equorum virorumque umbræ, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu, tela hostium citrà cadebant: Vitelliani adverso lumine collucentes, velut ex occulto jaculantibus, incauti offerebantur.—*Tacit. Histor. lib.* III, *n.* XXIII.

went through every rank, animating his troops, and with equal dexterity and success, availing himself of the rising of the sun: the soldiers of the third legion, who had served under Corbulo in Asia, saluted it with loud cries, according to the Syriac custom; whence a rumor was spread, and obtained credit among the combatants, probably through a stratagem of Primus, that great reinforcements had come to his army. The Vitellians began to waver: Primus, perceiving this, pressed them with redoubled vigor, and breaking their ranks by a last effort, put them completely to flight.

They were pursued with great slaughter, till they reached the camp that surrounded Cremona. In order to deprive them of this last resource, the victorious army resolved to attack the camp without delay. This, indeed, offered almost insuperable difficulties, as it was defended by a whole army, and well fortified by a ditch, a parapet, and powerful engines which threw with violence darts and stones. But nothing could check the ardor of the soldiers of Primus: they advanced towards the intrenchments with their shields closed and raised over their heads; here again a fierce combat ensued. The assailants were exposed to an incessant shower of arrows and enormous stones from the Vitellian engines. Although wounded, bruised and repulsed, they renewed the attack, mounted upon each other's shoulders, wrested the swords from the hands of their opponents, leaped upon the ramparts, or broke open the gates, and rushing into the camp, filled it in one moment with mangled bodies and streams of blood.

These three victories were the work of twenty-four hours, and the fruit of the most obstinate courage ever displayed by Romans fighting against Romans. The third legion distinguished itself on that occasion in a particular manner, and maintained its former glory. But no glory was equal to that acquired by Primus in these actions: he had, as it were, by a single blow, commenced and

nearly finished the war, nor could the Vitellians ever regain their former ascendency. The city of Cremona, struck with terror, surrendered to the victors, and having unfortunately done so without previous conditions, was abandoned to plunder and destroyed by fire. All the West began to follow the example of the East, and to declare for Vespasian; so that Rome and a few Italian provinces were all that now remained on the side of Vitellius, and even these but for a short time.

After some transactions of minor importance, Primus with his victorious troops arrived before the walls of the Capital. Here also they were vigorously opposed; a series of battles were fought at the gates, afterwards in the streets, and finally in the prætorian camp; these battles cost the lives of fifty thousand persons. The soldiers of Primus were every where triumphant, the Vitellians were driven to their last posts, and, though they still resisted with determined courage, being overpowered by numbers, all fell, with their faces turned towards the enemy.

Vitellius, unworthy of such brave soldiers, shut himself up in a litter, and was carried to a house in a distant part of the town, from which he intended secretly to make his escape, and retire into Campania. But either fear and restlessness of mind, or the hope of kind treatment from the conquerors, induced him to return to his palace; he found it changed into a vast solitude, and the apartments closed, all his officers and servants having fled. Weary of wandering about, he concealed himself behind a bed in the porter's room, but was soon discovered by a party of the victorious soldiers. Notwithstanding his entreaties, they led him away with his hands tied behind him, his clothes torn, and a cord about his neck, not one person showing him the least compassion. Nay more, some were so inhuman as to prick his chin with their swords, to force him to raise his head and see his statues overthrown. He was dragged in this manner to the common dung-hill, where they put him to death, and then threw his body into

the Tiber. He had reigned eight months, reckoning from the death of Otho, who himself had reigned only three: so that the same year (A. D. 69) saw four successive emperors, viz: Galba, who died in January, Otho in April, Vitellius in December, and Vespasian who was left sole master before the end of the month.

VESPASIAN.—A. D. 69—79.

The year following (A. D. 70) was rendered famous by the entire overthrow of the Jews, and by the destruction of their nation, city and temple.*

From the time when Judea, like so many other countries of the East, after having been subdued by the Romans, was formed into a province of the empire, the Jews always bore the yoke with extreme reluctance. Their desire to shake it off was continually increased by the tyranny and extortions of the Roman governors. Under Florus, the last governor, their patience was completely exhausted, and public animosity being raised to its highest pitch, they rose in arms, in the year 66, two years before the death of Nero.

Their first endeavors were generally successful. They defeated the Romans, killed many of them, and repulsed Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, who had come to the assistance of Florus. But affairs on each side assumed a very different aspect, when Vespasian received from Nero the charge of prosecuting the war against the Jews. Under this able general, the Romans quickly recovered their usual superiority. Nearly the whole of Galilee and Judea was subdued in two campaigns, and, although the insurgents fought in many places with desperate valor, Vespasian drove them from their positions, and approached Jerusalem. He then prepared to lay siege to this Capital; but, being at that time proclaimed emperor,

* See note B.

he departed for Egypt, and left to his son Titus the conduct of the war.

Jerusalem, one of the principal cities of the East, was very difficult of access. Its high position on two mountains, a double, even treble enclosure of strong walls and towers where the approach was naturally easier, and many other fortifications, would have rendered it unconquerable, had not the obstinacy and blindness of its inhabitants forced, as it were, the justice of God to achieve their ruin. The Roman legions commanded by Titus encamped round the city towards the beginning of April, and, as this was about Easter, one of the principal solemnities of the Jews, an immense multitude of people found themselves shut up as in a prison. Their provisions were soon consumed, and famine began to exercise its ravages. Moreover, there were in the town two or three furious factions, which, it is true, united their efforts to oppose the assaults of the Romans, but, as soon as the danger was over, quarrelled and fought among themselves. They did not perhaps let one day pass, without committing new cruelties, and staining with blood the streets of the city or the pavements of the temple.

The siege lasted until September, and during the whole time, Titus unceasingly called upon the wretched inhabitants to surrender, giving them a full assurance of pardon. All was useless; they defended every inch of ground and opposed every attack with such obstinate fury, that the besiegers sometimes despaired of success; once, especially, when, after having labored for seventeen days to prepare battering rams and other engines of war, they could not prevent their being burnt and destroyed by the Jews in the space of a few hours. Titus himself, though he had already obtained possession of the first and second walls, was at a loss how to act in order to repair this loss. After much deliberation, he resolved to change, in some particulars, his former plan of attack, and the soldiers as well as officers armed themselves with new courage for the execution of his designs. By his orders, they built

all round the city, six miles in circumference, a wall fortified by thirteen towers, to prevent the escape of the rebels and the introduction of provisions into the town. Through the wonderful activity of the Romans, the work was finished in three days.

From that time especially, the famine raged most dreadfully in Jerusalem. The greater part of its inhabitants were reduced to eat such things as they could not behold without horror. The leather of their shoes and shields, dried hay, withered herbs, were food which they would greedily devour. The soldiers of each faction violently entered the houses, and visited every corner, to discover provisions. If they found any, they wrested it from the owners; if they found none, they put those unfortunate people to the rack, and made them suffer cruel torments, in order to make them deliver what they had concealed. They carried their barbarity so far as to take from the poorest among the people some herbs and grain which they had collected during the night, outside of the walls, at the risk of their lives, without leaving them a small part which they asked in the name of God. Neither women nor little children were spared, when found with a little food in their hands.

And this was not done by the soldiers only. All hearts were steeled against the feelings of humanity and compassion. Husbands would snatch meat from their wives; children would wrest it from their parents; and what almost surpasses belief, mothers would deprive their little infants of the necessaries of life. Nay more, one of them went so far as to deprive of life itself her little child, in order to eat its flesh, and prolong her own existence by that horrid sustenance. The houses seemed to be changed into graves, most of them being filled with the dead and dying. The streets were strewed with so many corpses, which blocked up the way, that an order was given by the chiefs of the rebels, to gather them into great heaps in some uninhabited buildings, or to throw them from the wall into the valley. More than six hun-

dred thousand bodies were thus thrown, and, at one gate only, there were one hundred and sixteen thousand in the space of three months. As to the survivors, they resembled so many skeletons or walking ghosts: the whole city presented nothing but desolation and the image of death.

When the Romans heard these things, some would not believe them; others were moved to compassion; but the greater number inflamed with indignation, became still more animated against the Jewish people than they were before. Titus heaved a deep sigh, and called heaven to witness that he was not the author of such horrid miseries; since he had frequently, but in vain, offered a full pardon to the Jews if they would surrender. He therefore determined to push the siege with fresh vigor, this being the only means left to subdue those furious rebels. New and repeated assaults took place, in which extraordinary efforts were made, and many persons killed on each side; at length, the Romans carried by storm the third wall, and the lower part of the town, and approached the galleries and porticos of the temple, which they set on fire.

It was the wish of Titus to save the temple; but one of the soldiers, says the historian Josephus, hurried on by a certain divine impulse, took a fire-brand, and being lifted up by another soldier, threw it into one of the inner rooms contiguous to the sanctuary. The flames immediately rose. In vain did the Jews endeavor to extinguish them; in vain did Titus also make the most strenuous efforts to stop the conflagration: in spite of both the conqueror and the conquered, the fire spread with unusual rapidity. At the same time, the legions, fond of pillage, and enraged by the long resistance they had met with, slew all who had taken refuge in the temple and the galleries. The whole space was soon covered with dead bodies, over which the Romans advanced in pursuit of the Jews who fled before them, and streams of blood were running

through the flames. The conflagration was so violent, and the building so extensive, that the hill upon which it stood seemed all on fire; whilst the outcries of an immense number of Jews, prolonged by the neighboring echoes, were heard on all sides, and increased the horror of the scene.

The fatal day was come: that splendid temple, the most celebrated in the universe, and the centre of the True Religion before the coming of Christ, was in a few hours reduced to ashes and a heap of ruins. It perished after a duration of six hundred years, and, by a striking occurrence, was consumed by fire in the same month and on the same day (the tenth of August) on which the former temple, built by Solomon, was burnt by Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon.

Although the rebels still made some resistance in the upper part of the town, Titus found no difficulty in expelling them from all the positions which they occupied. The Romans completed the reduction of Jerusalem on the eighth of September, and put every thing to fire and sword. What the flames had spared, was entirely demolished, and levelled with the ground. Not a stone was left upon a stone, in the whole city; only some parts of the western wall and three remarkable towers were preserved, both for the sake of the Roman garrison which was to be left in Judea, and as monuments of so signal a victory. The booty, notwithstanding the ravages of the fire, was so great, that gold lost half its value in the neighboring provinces. Eleven hundred thousand Jews perished during the siege, ninety-seven thousand were made prisoners, and condemned, some to hard labor, others to death; whilst many were sold at a low price, and dispersed all over the earth.

Thus were the predictions of our Lord concerning the utter destruction of Jerusalem, entirely fulfilled.* It was

* Matt. xxiv.—Mark, xiii.—Luke, xix, xxi, xxiv.

a manifest punishment of the crime of deicide, which the Jews had committed thirty-seven years before; and of the awful imprecation which they had uttered, with one voice, during his passion: "His blood be upon us, and upon our children."* Titus himself, though a heathen, viewing all the circumstances of their disaster, the most extraordinary that ever befell a nation, confessed that he was only the instrument of divine vengeance.†

This the Jews also would have acknowledged, had they not hardened their hearts, and shut their eyes against the light. During many years before the war, they were admonished of their impending calamity by prodigies more and more terrific. All their doctors confess that strange phenomena were daily seen in the temple; in so much, that a famous Rabbin cried out one day: "O temple! temple! What is it that moves thee, and why art thou thus terrified?"

In the year immediately preceding the beginning of hostilities between the Jews and Romans, on Easter-Day, a gate of the inner court of the temple, all of brass, and so heavy that twenty men could scarcely move it, was seen to open of its own accord. Some weeks later, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armor, were beheld running among the clouds, and surrounding the cities.

What is more striking than the noise heard in the sanctuary on the day of Pentecost, and that audible voice which issued from the inmost recess of that sacred place: "Let us go hence, let us go hence?" The holy Angels, guardians of the temple, loudly declared that they were forsaking it, because Almighty God, who had there established his abode during so many ages, had now given it up to reprobation.

Josephus‡ and Tacitus§ have both related these prodi-

* Matth. xxviii, 25.
† Josephus, De bello Judaico, lib. VI., Philost. vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. VI.
‡ Josephus, De bello Judaico, lib. VI.
§ Tacitus, histor, lib. V. *n.* xiii.

gies, which therefore cannot be reasonably doubted. The following one, although mentioned by Josephus only, must however appear the least questionable of all, as having been visible to the whole people. Four years before the war commenced, a certain man going up from the country to Jerusalem for the feast of the Tabernacle,* suddenly began to cry out: "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds; a voice against the temple and against Jerusalem; a voice against all the people!" From that time he ceased not crying day and night: "wo, wo to Jerusalem!" He redoubled his cries on the festival-days. No other words fell from his lips; those who pitied him, those who rebuked him, those who gave him the necessaries of life, could never obtain from him any thing but this terrible sentence: "wo to Jerusalem!" He was arrested, tried by the magistrates, and condemned to be scourged: at every question, and at every lash, he constantly answered, without ever complaining of his sufferings; "wo to Jerusalem!" Being dismissed as a madman, he ran up and down the whole country, incessantly repeating the same awful prediction, "wo to Jerusalem!" For seven years he continued to cry out in this manner, without relaxation, the strength of his voice remaining ever the same. During the siege of Jerusalem, he shut himself up in the city, going incessantly round the walls, and crying with all his might: "wo to the temple! wo to the city! wo to all the people!" at last he added, "wo to myself!" and was immediately carried off by a stone shot from an engine; thus having been, at the same time, a prophet, a witness, and a visible proof of the divine vengeance lying heavy upon his whole nation.

Shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus went by land to Alexandria, and thence by sea to Rome. The emperor, his father, went forward from the city to meet

* Thus called, from the custom of the Jews to make on that feast tabernacles or tents, as a memorial of their having dwelt under tents for forty years in the desert.

him; and they enjoyed together the honors of a magnificent triumph, for the successful conclusion of the Jewish war.

The reign of Vespasian henceforward passed in peace. This wise prince restored the empire to its ancient splendor. He respected the laws, and caused them to be respected by others; enforced the rules of military discipline; prevented or punished oppression; encouraged virtue and talents. The luxury of the Roman tables was an inveterate evil, and stronger than all laws; Vespasian checked it by his example; private individuals being ashamed to indulge in extravagant expenses, whilst their emperor declared himself a lover of plainness and simplicity. Whatever savored of effeminacy, so highly displeased him, that being one day accosted by a young man strongly perfumed, who came to thank him for a preferment which he had lately obtained; "I had rather you smelt of garlic," said Vespasian, with a stern and contemptuous look; and immediately revoked his commission.

He was also very careful to procure a right and speedy administration of justice. The pleadings frequently took place before him; his tribunal was public, and his judgments obtained almost general approbation. Being not less beneficent than just, the disasters which Rome and other cities experienced, were the objects of his solicitude. Amiable and cheerful with his friends, merciful to his enemies, good, humane, and affable to all, he gave free access to his palace, the gates of which were constantly open; and he was seen to shed tears over criminals whom he could not save from punishment.

On one occasion only, his usual clemency disappeared. A certain Sabinus had assumed in Gaul the title of Cæsar. He was defeated towards the beginning of Vespasian's reign, and remained for many years concealed in a cavern, where he and his family were supported by some faithful friends; he was at length discovered, and brought to Rome. Eponina, his wife, who had never abandoned him,

threw herself at the emperor's feet, and by her supplications and tears, endeavored to excite his compassion. Vespasian was indeed moved with pity, and even sensibly affected; but his emotion yielded to the severity of his political principles, and both Eponina and Sabinus were condemned to death. No one knew the motives of a rigor so unnecessary, at least in appearance, and which leaves a blot on the memory of so good an emperor.

He is also accused of too great a love of money. The charge may be true in some respects; but we ought not to forget that Vespasian ever made a noble and generous use of his revenues. Besides other instances of his liberality; some of which have been already mentioned, he was the first who gave pensions to the professors of Greek and Latin eloquence at Rome. He attracted to that city the best scholars and ablest workmen of the time, without however disregarding those of inferior merit or hurting their interests. One of the former, an excellent machinist, having offered to transport heavy burdens at a small expense, by machines of his invention, the emperor rewarded him well for the offer, but would not make use of it; "for," said he, "we must not deprive the poor of their means of subsistence."

It was by such amiable qualities, and by repeated acts of good government, that Vespasian deserved the title of father of his country, which was conferred on him nearly in the same manner as it had been on Augustus. Though advanced in age, he continued to administer the public affairs to the end of his life, and gave audience even in his last sickness. He was however sensible of the danger of his situation, and said one day: "It seems to me I am going to become a god;" thus deriding, in an ingenious manner, the apotheosis which would follow his death. When he felt that he had but few moments to live, he was heard to say: "It is proper that an emperor should die standing; and, making an effort to rise, he expired in the

arms of those who supported him, in the seventieth year of his life, and tenth of his reign (A. D. 79).

Under him was made the last census of the Roman citizens. In Italy alone, there were found, according to Pliny, fifty-four persons at least a hundred years old. Ten had reached the age of one hundred and twenty-five or thirty years, three the age of one hundred and forty; and two that of one hundred and fifty.

TITUS.—A. D. 79—81.

Vespasian was succeeded by his elder son Titus, a most excellent prince, whose full eulogium is comprised in the appellation of the *Delight of Mankind*, under which he is known. From the time of his accession to the throne, nothing appeared in him but a wonderful generosity and benevolence, from which his very bitterest enemies were not excluded. Two patricians being convicted of a conspiracy against him, he granted them a full pardon, and had the kind attention to send a messenger to the mother of one of them, to assure her that her son had nothing to fear from his resentment. Moreover, he invited the two guilty persons to sup with him, and, on the following day, at an exhibition of gladiators, made them sit by his side, and hold, for some time, the arms of the combatants, which were brought to him according to custom.

Titus never sent away any person discontented, never, at least, without some hope and consolation; saying that no one should go sorrowful from his prince. Every one knows in what manner he once expressed his regret at having let a day pass without doing some good office: "My friends," said he, "I have lost a day;" an expression worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity, and infinitely more glorious than all the victories of Alexander and Julius Cæsar.

The manifold disasters and calamitous events which

happened during the reign of Titus, afforded him continual opportunities to display his beneficence. The most dreadful of those visitations was an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in Italy. Even the mere forerunners of it were terrific: a violent earthquake, subterraneous sounds like thunder, the soil burning, the sea foaming, the heavens on fire; all was calculated to fill every bosom with dread and consternation. Then, for three days, the volcano belched forth with terrific violence, so great a quantity of hot ashes, large stones, and lurid flame, that the day was obscured, the sun was darkened, and the world seemed to be returning to its pristine chaos.

Pliny the naturalist, or the elder, one of the most learned and laborious writers of antiquity, was at that time the commander of the Roman fleet at Misenum, a promontory at the distance of twenty or twenty-five miles from Mount Vesuvius. He saw the beginning of the eruption, without knowing exactly what it was. Desirous to have a nearer view of the phenomenon, he advanced on board a galley towards the volcano. Having landed, he found every thing in strange confusion, a new promontory formed by the violence of the earthquake, and numbers of people flying on all sides. The continual eruption of stones, ashes and smoke from the volcano, increased the awful obscurity of the night. The danger increased, so that Pliny himself, notwithstanding his intrepidity, wished to return to his ship. At that very moment, there burst forth a sulphurous vapor accompanied with flames: all ran from the imminent danger; but Pliny, having a weak breast, could not resist the suffocating exhalation, and fell dead on the spot. His body was found two days after, without any external injury.

In the meanwhile, Pliny the younger, afterwards so famous for his eloquence, was with his mother at Misenum, in their dwelling near the sea. Though distant from the volcano, they found themselves exposed, with the other inhabitants of the town, to great perils, from the

violence of the earthquake, and the clouds of smoke and ashes, which were carried to a great distance in different directions. Pliny's mother exhorted him to save his life by flight, saying that her advanced age and infirmities did not permit her to make her escape. But Pliny would never consent to the separation; she was prevailed upon to follow him, and they went together, accompanied by a great crowd of people. The day was changed into the darkest night; nothing guided their trembling steps, except the dismal flames which from time to time flickered on the top of the mountain. They were frequently covered with ashes; even the flame seemed to advance towards them; it did not however reach them, and they had the good fortune to escape.

When the eruption was over, the surrounding country presented a scene of desolation. The cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were buried under heaps of ashes, and remained so for more than sixteen hundred years, until the last century, when the people of that country, whilst engaged in digging wells and quarries, discovered them at the depth of many feet beneath the surface. Temples and other buildings have been found there, with statues, inscriptions, vessels, even fruits, olives, wheat and bread, preserved in the cement and condensed lava which covered them at the time of the eruption. The inhabitants had very probably withdrawn to a distance; hence the loss of these two cities could not be deemed in itself a very great disaster: but the volcanic substances with which the whole country was now overspread, occasioned so dreadful a pestilence throughout Italy, that in Rome it carried off ten thousand persons every day for a considerable space of time. In fine, a terrible conflagration added its ravages to those caused by the pestilence, and consumed some of the finest quarters of that city.

Amidst so many disasters, Titus not only acted the part of a good prince, but also evinced the affection of a tender father for his distressed children. In order

to repair, as far as possible, both public and private losses, he spared neither the treasure of the empire, nor his own money. He parted even with his jewels and the ornaments of his palace, to afford the sufferers every alleviation in his power. Unfortunately he reigned only two years, and died at the age of forty-one (A. D. 81). Many believed that his death had been procured, or at least accelerated by his wicked brother Domitian. It was so generally and so deeply lamented, not only in Rome, but also in the provinces, that each family seemed to have lost a son or a father.

DOMITIAN.—A. D. 81—96.

It is scarcely possible to find a more striking contrast in the character and opinions of two successive princes, than is presented by Titus and Domitian. The new emperor, far from imitating the virtues of his deceased brother, abandoned himself to the most degrading excesses. He was careful, however, to conceal his wickedness, until he had, like other tyrants, confirmed his authority among the people, by several acts of justice, and a prudent management of public affairs.

The first and most distinguished personage that had to suffer from his suspicious policy, was Julius Agricola, the Roman governor of Great Britain. This great man had completed the subjugation of that country,* more by mildness and prudence, than by the terror of his arms. He still continued to govern it with great honor, when Domitian, jealous of his glory, recalled him to Rome, and repaid his eminent services with coldness and ingratitude. Agricola, for fear of giving umbrage to the tyrant, withdrew from public life. He died some years after, excluded from dignities and public employments, but preserving pure and

* Not including Scotland, which never was entirely subdued; much less Ireland, which was not even attacked by the Romans.

entire the fame of his talents and virtue. His life was written by his son-in-law, Tacitus, in a manner which does honor to both the conqueror and the historian.

Most of the other wars during Domitian's reign, those especially which he conducted in person, proved unsuccessful. He was defeated by the Germans, concluded a disgraceful peace with the Dacians, and yet had the impudence to boast in Rome of his pretended exploits, for which he caused a triumph to be decreed. His only victories were over helpless insects. He frequently shut himself in his chamber, and spent his time in killing flies with a sharp bodkin. Hence a certain Vibius Crispus being asked if any one was with the emperor, aptly replied: "Not so much as a fly."

Under this capricious tyrant, capital punishments were renewed, for a variety of pretexts, against the first personages of the state. Nor were pretexts ever wanted. To be rich, or of noble extraction, was a crime. An equal danger awaited those who enjoyed honors and those who enjoyed them not: above all, conspicuous virtue and merit almost infallibly proved the ruin of their possessors. This was the case particularly with Christians. Domitian excited against them the second general persecution, in which he spared neither his own relations, nor the advanced age of St. John the Evangelist. This venerable apostle was brought from Ephesus to Rome, and plunged into a caldron of boiling oil, from which he came forth unhurt, and even stronger than before.* The emperor then banished him to the small island of Patmos in the Archipelago, where the holy apostle wrote his Apocalypse, or Book of Revelations. After the death of Domitian, he returned to Ephesus, wrote his Gospel, at the request of the bishops of Asia, and died towards the end of the first century, being nearly a hundred years old.

Not less impious than wicked, Domitian wished, after

* Tertullian, De præscript. 36.—St. Jerom, lib. advers. Jovinianum.

the example of Caligula, to be considered and honored as a god; to have temples erected in his honor, and victims to be sacrificed to his statue. Next to this arrogant and sacrilegious pride, refined cruelty seemed to be his predominant characteristic. He delighted in making people suffer, and in feasting his eyes with the sight of their torments. Not satisfied with putting to death a multitude of senators, he resolved to frighten the others, and for this purpose, contrived a scheme worthy of a tyrant. He invited them to supper, and, as they arrived, had them conducted from the gate of the palace to an apartment hung with black, where every thing presented the image of death. By the glimmering of melancholy lamps, they perceived as many coffins as there were guests, with the name of each inscribed in large characters. A number of boys, whose skins were darkened, danced around the room. A mournful silence reigned in the whole assembly, and every one believed that his last hour was come. When their terror was at its height, the emperor dismissed them all with presents.

Domitian, by such scenes, was perhaps desirous to make others feel the excruciating anguish of mind which he himself experienced. Every thing gave him offence; and he was continually tormented with the fear of being surrounded by assassins. He had the gallery in which he usually walked, overlaid with stone which reflected objects like a mirror, that he might see those who should attempt to attack him from behind. He entertained unceasing apprehensions, especially, it is said, of a certain day (the eighteenth of September), and of a certain hour of that day (eleven o'clock in the morning). But neither his apprehensions, nor the precautions which he took to screen himself from danger, were able to prolong his life: that very day and hour, he was murdered in his apartment by some officers of the palace, who either knew that their own death had been decreed by him, or otherwise dreaded the effects of his resentment. Some histo-

rians relate that he had been forewarned of the impending evil; and also that the famous magician, Appollonius Tyanensis, who was then at Ephesus, knew the emperor's death at the moment it happened, and announced it in these words: "Strike, strike the tyrant." But this account seems rather uncertain.

Many have drawn a parallel between Domitian and Nero; but a more exact comparison might be made between the former and Tiberius, whose sullenness of temper, malice, cruelty and dissimulation, he possessed in a high degree, as Tillemont justly observes.* He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his life (A. D. 96), and was the last of those emperors who have been called the Twelve Cæsars.

NERVA—TRAJAN.—A. D. 96—117.

Nerva, a venerable old man, was unanimously proclaimed emperor by the army, the senate and the people. During his reign of only sixteen months, though not always successful, he did much good by his personal exertions, and still more efficaciously promoted the interest of the empire, by the selection of Trajan for his colleague and successor. He died shortly after (A. D. 98).

Trajan was a native of Italica or Seville in Spain, and belonged to a family more ancient than illustrious. Possessed of an excellent constitution, an engaging and noble countenance, and great experience added to his natural abilities, he was moreover in that maturity of age which is so desirable for the government of a vast empire. He received the news of his election, whilst commanding the Roman troops in Germany: this produced no change in his character and conduct. He sincerely believed and publicly declared himself to be not less bound than the

* Histoire des Empereurs, 2d vol. p. 64.

lowest citizen to observe the laws. Other emperors had held the same language; but what Trajan promised to be, *that* he in reality was. He seemed to retain his rank for the sole purpose of preventing anarchy, and, whenever his prerogatives clashed with the true interest of the people, he diminished them without hesitation. Hence the surname of *Optimus* was given him by unanimous consent.

He carefully attended both to the embellishment of the Capital and to the utility of the provinces. In Rome, the famous Trajan Square and Column; in Pannonia, a bridge, more than three thousand feet long, thrown over the Danube; a road uniting, as it were, the two extremities of the empire, and reaching from Gaul as far as the Euxine sea; and many other public works and buildings, were striking instances of the grandeur of his views.

Fully convinced that haughtiness conciliates neither affection nor esteem, and that condescension can be well allied to dignity, he lived with his people, not as a monarch with his subjects, but like a father in the midst of beloved children. His palace was open to persons of all conditions; he listened with patience, corrected with gentleness, and, like Titus, wished no one to go discontented from his presence. As his friends one day represented to him that he carried indulgence and kindness too far; "I must," answered he, "behave towards every one, as I desired that an emperor should behave towards me, when I was a private citizen."

With regard to military talents, Trajan was, beyond comparison, the greatest commander of his age, and equal to the most illustrious generals of antiquity. Vigilant and indefatigable, he marched on foot, even when emperor, at the head of his troops, and in this manner passed over vast tracts of country, without using horse or chariot. Equally attentive to reward noble actions and maintain strict discipline, he constantly encouraged both by his own example.

So great a prince easily revived the warlike spirit of

the Roman legions. He led them first against the Dacians, and triumphed twice over king Decebalus, who had imposed a sort of tribute on Domitian. Passing afterwards into Asia, he subdued Assyria, Mesopotamia, and other countries the names of which were before unknown at Rome. These conquests however proved more brilliant than solid. The new subjects of the empire availed themselves of the first opportunity to shake off the yoke. Trajan himself beheld the first success of their efforts, and was unable to check it, either for want of time, or on account of other obstacles. He died at Selinontes in Cilicia, whilst on his journey to Rome, after having reigned nearly twenty years (A. D. 117).

No Roman emperor left a greater reputation for princely virtue and goodness. For a long time after his death, the best wish that the Romans believed they could offer to any new emperor, was that he should be happier even than Cæsar Augustus, and better than Trajan. His goodness however did not extend to the Christians, who were again persecuted under his reign. Moreover, his private life was far from being blameless: on the contrary, his intemperance and infamous debaucheries show well what we must think of the greatest men that paganism produced, even those who have been most admired for their virtues.

Besides Quintilian and Juvenal, who flourished about this time, the most celebrated writers that lived under Trajan were, Tacitus the historian, and Pliny the Younger. Both of them were raised to eminent dignities, and yet acquired less glory from their high station than from their integrity and eloquence. They frequently pleaded at the bar, and were always admired, Tacitus, for the gravity and nobleness of his diction, Pliny, for his elegance and facility, which were so great that he could speak five or six hours in succession, without fatiguing any one but himself. He has left ten books of Letters, and a Panegyric of Trajan. The writings of Tacitus consist chiefly of Histories and Annals relating to the first emperors of Rome; several

books of his works are lost, to the great detriment of Latin literature.

Tacitus and Pliny, instead of entertaining any feeling of jealousy against each other, were, on the contrary, sincere and intimate friends. Public opinion made no distinction between them, and in social intercourse, the name of the one could scarcely be mentioned without the name of the other. It once happened that Tacitus, being at a public game, had a long conversation on literary matters with a foreigner sitting by his side, and who did not know him personally. At last, the foreigner asked him who he was. "You know me," said Tacitus, "from my writings." "Then you are Tacitus or Pliny," said the stranger; showing by that sudden reply, that the mere mention of literature was associated, at that epoch, with the names of these two illustrious writers and friends.

In their time, a young boy, called Valerius Pudens, obtained, at the age of thirteen, the premium of poetry at the Capitolian games (A. D. 106).

ADRIAN—A. D. 117—138.

Like Trajan, Adrian, his nephew and successor, united with a wretched life in private, great abilities for government; but his conduct was far different from that of his predecessor. Being as great a lover of peace as Trajan had been of military glory, he reduced the Roman dominions to their former limits, and abandoned all the conquests lately made in countries beyond the great river Euphrates. His utmost care, during the whole of his reign, was to preserve peace with the neighboring nations.

To obtain this desired end, he employed two principal means. The first, rather an impolitic one, was to induce, by considerable presents, the tribes of Pannonia and Germany not to attack the empire. The second, much more worthy of a great prince, was to keep the troops always

in good order, and ever ready to oppose and defeat every attempt at invasion. For that purpose, he took upon himself the task of visiting all the camps of the legions scattered throughout the empire, in order to examine in what manner discipline was every where observed, and what was the state of the arms, engines of war, fortifications, ammunition, and, in a word, of every thing connected with the military department.

During these visits, the emperor required that an account should be given him of the conduct of the officers and soldiers; which being done, he appropriately distributed praises and reproaches, rewards and punishments; and, in the appointment of military offices, granted nothing to favor, but every thing to virtue, merit and experience. He animated the military exercises by his vigilance, his presence, his example. Whatever promoted or favored effeminacy among the troops, he suppressed with inexorable severity, and showed in his own person a perfect pattern of military discipline, living with the soldiers as one of them, using the most common food, wearing a plain dress and carrying heavy arms, braving the inconveniences of the various climes and seasons, and walking, with his head uncovered, through the snow of the Alps, as well as through the burning sands of Africa.

By such efficacious means Adrian revived the strictness of ancient discipline among the troops, making himself however very dear to them by his kindness, affability and opportune favors. He paid great attention to the welfare of the soldiers, especially of those advanced in years, whom he honorably dismissed in due time, and of those who were sick, whom he was accustomed to visit in their tents or lodgings.

The civil affairs were not less carefully attended to by Adrian. It was one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to be like the sun, which by its regular course illuminates and vivifies all the regions of the earth. He spent many years in travelling through the various provinces of the

empire, reforming abuses, repairing what had been injured, appointing good governors, and inflicting punishments on those who had abused their power. He likewise, by his own example and assiduity, improved and facilitated the administration of justice, for this purpose causing a collection to be made of the best ancient laws, and enacting wise statutes against fraudulent bankrupts, and masters who were cruel towards their slaves.

His conduct towards the senate was habitually full of deference and respect; towards the people, condescending but firm; towards the allies and subjects of the empire, kind and liberal. He remitted the whole sum due to the exchequer, nine hundred millions of sesterces (nearly twenty-five millions of dollars), and publicly burnt all the books and records which might afterwards be produced to revive that debt. This action of Adrian did him great honor, and was justly celebrated by inscriptions and monuments. On the whole, although his government proved fatal to some illustrious persons whom he harassed and persecuted, it was highly beneficial to the state. On many particular occasions, the emperor manifested a wonderful clemency, and regard for truth. One day a poor woman cried out to him: "Cæsar, hear me and give me justice." Adrian having answered that he had no time; "why, then, are you our emperor?" asked the woman. The prince was struck, but not offended by this bold question; he stopped, and listened to her complaints. However, he took care not to be imposed upon by artful petitioners. A grey-headed man asked him a favor which was refused. Some time after, the same man applied again to Adrian for the same purpose, with his hair blackened. The emperor pretended not to recognize him, and coolly dismissed him, saying: "What you ask I have already refused to your father."

Adrian had remarkable talents and very extensive knowledge. He was well versed in mathematics, history, natural philosophy, etc., and was deservedly considered

one of the best grammarians, orators and poets of his age. His mind was acute and sagacious. He could at the same time write, dictate to a secretary, give audience to and converse with his friends.

His memory was astonishing. He remembered every thing that he had seen or read, and forgot neither the nature of the affairs which passed through his hands, nor the places in which he had been, nor the names of the persons with whom he had conversed. After reading a book, he could repeat it from beginning to end. Nay more, if a list of names confusedly mixed together was recited to him, he would repeat them all without a mistake.

His genius was not less elevated than extensive, and always prompted him to undertake great things for the splendor and utility of the state. No prince seems to have surpassed him in the number and magnificence of public buildings. Such were, in Rome, the bridge and castle now called St. Angelo; in Africa, the new city of Carthage; in Great Britain, a wall eighty miles long and extending from sea to sea, to preserve the Roman colonies from the attacks of the Scots; and in Gaul, the splendid amphitheatre of Nismes, which however is ascribed by some to the emperor Antoninus Pius, who derived his pedigree from that city.

The tranquillity of Adrian's reign was disturbed only by a revolt of the Jews. Many of this infatuated people had already perished under Trajan for the same cause. Being checked for a time, but not subdued, they again rose in arms, and committed horrid cruelties in Syria and Palestine, under the conduct of a certain Barcochebas, who called himself the Messiah; for, after having rejected the true Messiah in the person of our Savior, the Jews were easily led to follow imposters. Their rebellious obstinacy obtained, as it merited, a total and irreparable overthrow. Adrian sent against them numerous troops under the command of Tinnius Rufus and Julius Severus,

two able officers, who greatly distinguished themselves in this war.

The forces of the rebels were so formidable, and their animosity so great, that the Roman generals did not think proper to engage them in a regular battle. They had recourse to a war of skirmishes and detached parties, hunting the Jews as they would wild beasts, and pursuing them to death in every part of the country. This manner of warfare proved so successful to the Romans, that, within the space of three years (from A. D. 134 to 136), they took and destroyed nine hundred and eighty-five towns, besides fifty fortresses. In these partial conflicts and sieges, five hundred and eighty thousand Jews perished by the sword only; it was impossible to tell the number of those who fell victims to fire, sickness, or starvation. All who escaped death were dispersed throughout the empire, and sold in public fairs like horses and cattle. In no country were they subsequently greater strangers than in Judea, and particularly in Jerusalem which was rebuilt shortly after under the name of Ælia Capitolina; they were forbidden not only to dwell in it, but even to approach within three miles of its walls.

From that time, the Jews have been scattered through the various parts of the globe, without any country belonging to them; without kings and princes of their own descent; without laws and magistrates of their own; mingled, but not confounded with other nations; flattering themselves with the deceitful expectation of the Messiah, who, from the very words of their sacred records, must have appeared upon earth eighteen hundred years ago. From that time, we see them exposed, during the long course of ages, to numberless disasters and calamities, but always preserved by the mighty hand of God, that they may ever continue visible examples of his justice, and unexceptionable witnesses to the truth of the Ancient Scriptures, in which we read alike *our* claims and *their* condemnation.

Adrian did not long survive the conclusion of this second Jewish war: being attacked with the dropsy, and tormented by violent pains, he wished to end his life by the sword or by poison; but the constant vigilance and care of his adopted son Antoninus prevented the deed. He then vented his fury against several members of the senate, whom he condemned, without any legal cause, to capital punishment; but these also Antoninus saved from death, by telling them to conceal themselves. Adrian, however, still continued to take part in the affairs of the state. At length, he retired from Rome to Baia in Campania, where he observed no regimen, ate and drank whatever pleased him, without any regard to his situation, remarking that "the multitude of physicians had killed the emperor." He died at the age of sixty-two, after a reign of twenty-one years (A. D. 138). As he had, towards the end of his life, rendered himself odious to the senate, it was with great difficulty that Antoninus obtained for him the usual honors which attended imperial obsequies.

The truth is, Adrian neither deserved much regret, on account of his many private vices and some acts of tyranny, nor however did he merit the violent resentment of the senate, considering the habitual mildness, wisdom and prosperity of his government. It is highly probable that his memory would have obtained greater praise, had he been the immediate successor of Domitian. It was an unfavorable circumstance for his public character, that he came to the throne after Nerva and Trajan, and immediately before Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, the most excellent emperors of pagan Rome.

Although literature was not so flourishing under Adrian as it had been during the two preceding centuries, still it produced some celebrated writers, viz. the Latin historians Justin and Suetonius; the Greek historians Arrian and Plutarch; the renowned philosopher Epictetus. Adrian himself wrote on different subjects, and even on his

death-bed composed verses expressing his conviction of the immortality of the soul, and the fears which he entertained respecting his future destiny.

ANTONINUS PIUS.—A. D. 138—161.

The family of Antoninus was originally from Gaul, but he himself was a native of Italy. Being chosen by the late emperor to be his successor, he proved himself in every respect worthy of this exalted station. When the demise of Adrian put him in possession of the sovereign power, the whole empire seemed to be exulting with joy; nor did the extraordinary esteem entertained for Antoninus suffer any diminution during a reign of more than twenty-two years. The surname of *Pius* was given him, to perpetuate the remembrance of his tender affection for his adopted father, his family, and all his subjects. What he had hitherto been in private life and in inferior employments, *that* he continued to be when seated on the imperial throne; mild, generous, affable, listening with patience to every one, granting all that was reasonable and just, and returning good offices for insults and ingratitude.

Thus when, on occasion of a conspiracy which was happily detected, he could not rescue its authors from the rigor of the law, he at least put a stop to all inquiries about their accomplices. "I would not," said he, "begin my government with acts of severity;" adding, with a smile: "It would be both dishonorable and unpleasant to me, to find, upon inquiry, that I was hated by a number of my fellow-citizens." The son of one of the chief conspirators not only was not involved in his father's punishment, but, on the contrary, always found in the emperor a protector and a friend. This clemency of Antoninus, like that of Augustus, produced an excellent

effect, and no more conspiracies were formed against a prince who revenged himself in so noble a manner.

The same kindness and generosity appeared in his conduct towards a Grecian philosopher, by whom he had been shamefully offended. When he was proconsul of Asia Minor, being at Smyrna, he took his lodging in the house of a man called Polemon, who then happened to be absent. Upon his return home, Polemon, instead of finding himself much honored, was highly displeased at seeing his house occupied by the proconsul. He began to utter loud complaints, and went so far as to oblige him, in the middle of the night, to seek another lodging. This was a crying insult; yet Antoninus never thought of punishing it otherwise than by innocent raillery. When Polemon afterwards came to Rome, he received him kindly, and ordered an apartment to be provided for him in the palace, saying, with a cheerful voice: "Let no one be so bold as to expel such a guest, even *during the day.*" A comedian having also complained that the same Polemon had driven him from the stage,—"at what hour," asked the emperor, "did this happen?" "At mid-day," answered the comedian. "Why!" exclaimed Antoninus, "he once expelled me from his house at midnight, and I bore it patiently."

Many other instances might be adduced of his unalterable meekness; it always rose superior to injuries and affronts, yet never degenerated into weakness. He employed rigor against guilty persons, whenever good order and necessity required; but then, not to offer, in such circumstances, too much violence to the benevolent inclination of his heart, he found out such expedients for moderating that rigor, as could not, by their example, be prejudicial to the community. Thus, for instance, a senator having been convicted of parricide, as it was not possible to save the life of such a monster, the emperor, not to be shocked by the sight of his punishment, caused

him to be transported into a barren island, where he might perish by hunger and misery.

Antoninus, both from taste and reflection, was a constant friend of peace. He often repeated this saying of Scipio: "I like better to preserve one citizen, than to kill a thousand enemies." He generally had the satisfaction to enjoy the tranquillity which he so much desired; and, not being distracted by the cares of war, he applied himself entirely to the promotion of public and private happiness. His attention was constantly occupied in governing the state, as a good and diligent father governs his children and household. Far from making exactions, he obliged his intendants, under severe penalties, to raise the taxes with moderation. To the many calamitous accidents which happened during his reign he applied all the remedies in his power, and showed, in numberless instances, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to lighten the burden of his people.

This excellent prince was also favorably inclined towards the Christians, so much exposed at that time to public hatred. The prejudices of the pagan world against their religion, and the calumnies with which they were blackened, continually raised storms against them, and, even under the best princes, led many of them to martyrdom. No sooner was Antoninus, through the eloquent apology of St. Justin and other documents, well informed of their innocence, than he endeavored to shelter them from the blind fury of the populace, and from the injustice of magistrates and governors. In a rescript directed to those of Asia Minor, he took the part of the persecuted, commended their fidelity to God, their courage in suffering death, and turned his praises of their virtues into reproaches against the vices of their persecutors. He concluded the rescript by declaring that the Christian name was by no means a just cause of condemnation, and that, if any were brought before the courts upon no other

charge, they ought to be acquitted, and their accusers punished.

The benefits arising from such admirable government, were not confined to the Romans and subjects of the empire: the reputation of Antoninus for justice, impartiality and wisdom gained him a degree of authority and influence over the neighboring nations, which he never would have obtained by force of arms. Foreign princes came to pay him homage in Rome; the Indians, the Bactrians, the Hyrcanians, testified their respect for him by solemn embassies. By letters he prevented the Parthian king from invading Armenia, and the very barbarians near the frontiers frequently chose him umpire to settle their claims and differences.

It was in such noble occupations that Antoninus spent the whole of his reign, the blessings of which he completed by the appointment of Marcus-Aurelius for his successor. After a short disease, he died a tranquil death, at the age of seventy-three years (A. D. 161), leaving a name so dear to the Romans, that, for nearly a century, all his successors added it to their own names: it seemed as if it were impossible, for either the soldiers or the citizens, to acknowledge as emperor any one who should not have some resemblance, were it but a nominal one, with Antoninus.

MARCUS-AURELIUS.—A. D. 161—180.

Marcus-Aurelius considered it his bounden duty to walk in the footsteps of his predecessor, and to govern the state upon the same principles. Although he was not so firm, prudent, and free from prejudices as Antoninus, yet he displayed the same zeal for the public good, the same application to affairs, the same moderation and generosity: so that his reign, notwithstanding the vices of Lucius

Verus whom he had taken as his colleague, was also a period of glory and happiness for the Romans.

About this time, the Parthians invaded Armenia, which they had long since threatened. They destroyed the legions which defended that country, and advancing into Syria, filled every place with terror and confusion. Marcus-Aurelius being detained in Italy, took proper measures to repel the invaders. Avidius Cassius, one of his generals, not only defeated the Parthians, but also crossed the Euphrates, and continued his march as far as the royal city of Seleucia, which he plundered and reduced to ashes. But these brilliant exploits were dearly purchased. The victorious legions, on their return, brought along with them a pestilence which produced such dreadful ravages in the empire, especially in Italy, that more persons were carried off by it within the space of a few months, than would have perished during many years of the most disastrous war (A. D. 166).

This expedition against the Parthians was followed by another against the Marcomans, the Quadi, and other barbarians, who, driven from the north of Asia and Europe by more powerful tribes, or enticed by the hope of pillage, were striving to break through the barriers of the empire. Marcus-Aurelius went to put himself at the head of the legions, and evinced during the whole campaign a skill and valor which drew upon him the general admiration. However, after many victories, he suffered himself and his troops to be entangled in narrow defiles amidst the mountains of Bohemia, where, being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, they were on the point of perishing with excessive heat and thirst. In that extremity, the soldiers of the twelfth legion, all Christians, betook themselves to prayer, and presently the clouds gathered, and an abundant rain fell, which refreshed the Romans, whereas hail, thunder and lightning spread confusion among the barbarians, and enabled Marcus-Aurelius to gain a complete victory (A. D. 174). On this occasion, his army

saluted him *Imperator* for the seventh time, and the name of *Thundering* was given, or confirmed to the twelfth legion.

This prodigy, which pagan writers themselves relate,* and which is still seen engraved on the Antonine pillar at Rome, stopped for a time the persecution which the Christians were then suffering; the war however had but little interruption, and lasted till the end of the emperor's life (A. D. 180). He died at Vienna, near the Danube, having obtained a great reputation for political and military acquirements, and still more celebrated for his moral virtues, which were not however without a mixture of many great failings, viz. his religious bigotry, his weak connivance at the vices of his son Commodus and of other persons under his control, etc. He had lived fifty-nine years, and reigned nineteen.

Besides being a great emperor and general, Marcus-Aurelius was also an estimable author: he has left twelve books of wise maxims on the rules of morality.

COMMODUS—PERTINAX—DIDIUS-JULIANUS.—A. D. 180–193.

Commodus succeeded his father on the throne, but followed a very different line of conduct. A monster, rather than a man, he seemed to have no relish but for atrocious deeds of every description. He imitated Nero in his worst and basest inclinations, and surpassed Domitian in his cruelties, except that he did not persecute the Christians. After having gone on in this way for many years, his unrelenting thirst for blood at length caused his own death, by inducing the persons of his household to poison and strangle him, on the last day of the year one hundred and ninety-two.

On the following day, Pertinax, a venerable man, whose

*Dion-Cassius; Capitolinus; Claudian, etc. apud Tillemont vol. II, p. 370.

uncommon merit amply compensated for the lowness of his extraction, was chosen and unanimously acknowledged emperor. Under him, the paternal and firm administration of Antoninus began to revive. In a very short time, the laws were again put in force, debts were paid, the public revenues increased without laying new taxes, and powerful encouragements were given to agriculture, as the surest means of prosperity both for the state and for private families. In a word, the sound policy of Pertinax, seconded by his ability and experience, promised lasting as well as universal happiness; but these flattering hopes were soon blasted. At the end of three months, the prætorian soldiers incensed at his exertions for the restoration of military discipline, slew him in his palace (A. D. 193).

After this outrage, the rebels were not ashamed to expose the empire to sale at public auction. Purchasers were found, and after bidding for some time, Didius Julianus, a rich senator, carried the point, by offering twenty-five thousand sesterces (about six hundred and twenty-five dollars) against each prætorian.

This shameful transaction drew universal contempt upon Didius. Severus, commander of the Roman troops in Illyria, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by them, and suddenly departing, crossed the Alps, and made his appearance in Italy, before the news of his march had arrived. As he approached Rome, Didius showed nothing but weakness and hesitation. This unfortunate man saw himself gradually abandoned by the prætorians, betrayed by the Italic cohorts, and condemned by the senate. His death, after a precarious reign of sixty-six days, delivered Severus from a contemptible rival.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.—A. D. 193—211.

Two other and much more powerful competitors were yet in his way, Clodius Albinus and Pescennius Niger, men of great valor and reputation. Like Severus himself, they were, after the death of Pertinax, proclaimed emperors in their respective governments, Albinus in Great Britain, and Niger in Syria. Severus was determined to destroy them both; still, not to be engaged at once in two dangerous wars, he made first an agreement with Albinus, by which he granted him a sort of participation in the imperial authority, and prepared to attack Niger.

After a short stay in Rome, Severus departed for the East with numerous and well disciplined troops. Niger had on his side the legions of Syria and Asia Minor. From the character, firmness and ability of the two rivals, a war of long duration was anticipated: it was however terminated in a few months by three battles, in which all the troops of Niger were overcome, not by Severus in person, who was then occupied in besieging Byzantium, but by his lieutenants. The last battle was fought near the town of Issus in Cilicia, on the same spot where Alexander the Great formerly gained a splendid victory against the Persians. The victory of Severus was also complete. Niger lost twenty thousand men, and saw no other resource than to retire beyond the Euphrates; but being overtaken in his flight by some cavaliers of the victorious party, he was slain by them, and his head carried to Severus (A. D. 195).

The conqueror inflicted heavy penalties on such towns as had embraced the party of his opponent; especially on Antioch, the Capital of the East, and on Byzantium, which surrendered to him, only after a long siege and a most obstinate resistance. He deprived the former of its privileges; the latter he almost entirely destroyed. Such

private individuals as had been seen most devoted to the same cause, were also treated with great rigor; some suffered capital punishment; others lost their estates, or were condemned to pay enormous taxes.

Motives of policy, and the fear of rendering himself too odious, prevented Severus from carrying severity farther. He published an amnesty for the common soldiers, and would not suffer a pompous inscription in honor of Niger to be erased, saying it was rather fit that it should remain, to let the world know what an enemy he had conquered. The main object which he now had in view, was to destroy Albinus, and thus obtain exclusive possession of the throne. Albinus, on his part, was little satisfied with the inferior qualification of Cæsar, and seeing himself supported by a powerful army and a respectable portion of the Roman senate, publicly assumed the title of Augustus.

This bold step was precisely what Severus desired. His artful policy made him always endeavor to have appearances on his side, and permit his adversary to become the aggressor. He was returning from the East to Rome, when he received information of the open defection of Albinus. Severus did not fail to improve this favorable opportunity of inveighing against his rival, and having him declared a public enemy. From that moment, the two competitors openly marched against each other; Severus from Mæsia, and Albinus from Britain.

It appears that the intention of Albinus was to penetrate into Italy, and cause himself to be acknowledged in Rome. Severus, fully aware how essential it was for his interests to prevent the execution of any such design, detached some bodies of troops to guard the passages of the Alps, and followed, with all possible speed, at the head of the main portion of his army. He set the example of invincible fortitude in the greatest fatigues. No difficulty of the roads was able to stop his march; he was bareheaded, and disregarded snow and frosts, and both by

words and actions, transfused into the breasts of others the ardor with which he himself was animated. He was thus enabled to anticipate the march of his enemy towards Italy, and to come up with him near the city of Lyons in Gaul.

The quarrel between these two fierce rivals was now about to be decided. The two armies, including at least one hundred and fifty thousand combatants, were equal in number, in courage, and in the advantage of being headed by their respective emperors. All these circumstances contributed to render the battle equally terrible and bloody, and victory for a long time doubtful. The left wing of Albinus was broken, and the fugitives were pursued to their camp; but his right wing obtained at first a considerable advantage. The legionary soldiers of whom it was composed, had dug before them a great number of ditches, and covered them over slightly with clay so artfully that no one could perceive the snare. To draw the enemy into it, they pretended to be afraid, and hurling their javelins from afar, immediately retreated. The stratagem succeeded. The troops of Severus, anxious to come to a close engagement, and despising their adversaries, advanced without any precaution: but they were stopped at once by an obstacle as formidable as it was unexpected. Coming to the place which was overspread with clay, the earth sunk under their feet, and the whole first line fell into the ditches. As the lines were very close, the second had no time to retrace their steps, and fell upon the first. Those who followed, terrified at this, drew back hastily, and beat down their companions behind them; so that the whole left wing of Severus was thrown into utter confusion.

In this extreme danger, Severus, with the imperial guard, flew to the assistance of his disheartened troops. But at first, far from remedying the evil, he saw even his prætorian soldiers scattered and cut in pieces, and had a horse killed under him. This served only to animate him

the more. Rallying some of the fugitives, and putting himself at their head, he fell, sword in hand, upon the enemy, determined to conquer or die. His little troop, animated by his example, hewed down all before them, without distinction of friend or foe. Numbers of fugitives were thus forced to return to the charge; and the conquerors, who, through eagerness, had already broken their ranks in order to pursue their advantage, were now compelled to fight in their own defence.

The battle was renewed with fresh fury; but the victory still remained doubtful, till Lætus, the commander of the horse of Severus, decided the fate of the day. He had declined engaging in the beginning of the fight, perhaps through a perfidious design to let the two emperors destroy each other, in order to set up afterwards for himself. But when he saw that fortune began to declare for Severus, being sensible of the danger to which his criminal inactivity exposed him, he fell upon the flank of the enemy, whilst Severus attacked them vigorously in front. Unable any longer to keep their ground, they fled, and took shelter within the city, together with Albinus, who either died of his wounds, or killed himself in despair. By this complete but bloody victory, Severus was left (A. D. 197) without a competitor; having, in less than four years, destroyed three emperors, Didius-Julianus, Niger and Albinus.

He made a terrible use of his prosperity, and showed himself more cruel and inexorable than ever. After Albinus had expired, his violent enemy spurred his horse on the dead body, which he caused to remain exposed until it was devoured by dogs, and sent the head to the senate, with alarming threats against those who had followed the party of that unfortunate general. His wife, children and friends, all those who could be discovered to have been his leading partisans, were put to death. Many towns in Gaul and Spain had to mourn the loss of their

worthiest citizens, especially of such as were rich, in whom their wealth was too frequently their only crime.

By means like these, Severus amassed immense treasures, of which he made use chiefly to gain the affection of the soldiery by favors and largesses. His return to Rome with his victorious troops, spread terror through the city, and in a few days forty senators fell victims to his revenge.

On this occasion, Severus received a striking lesson from his younger son Geta, who was then only eight years old. The boy, having heard his father declare how he would revenge himself, seemed greatly concerned. In order to quiet his apprehensions, Severus said that the persons who had been marked for death, were enemies, of whom he was going to deliver him. Geta then asked how many there might be of those unfortunate people. Being told the number, he grew still more pensive, and again asked whether these unhappy men had any relations or parents alive; and, as he was answered that most of them had several; "Alas!" replied he, "there will be then more persons sorry for our victory, than will partake of our joy." Severus was struck by a remark at once so judicious and humane; but the prefects of his guards urged him to execute the proposed slaughter, and his elder son, Carracalla, proposed that even the children of their enemies should be put to death with their fathers. Upon which, Geta, with a look of indignation, said to him: "Disposed as you appear to be to spare the life of none, you would also be capable of killing your own brother." Words evincing extraordinary sagacity, and which were afterwards too well verified.

One of the two prefects of the guards just mentioned, was Plautian, a proud and an ambitious man, whose fate was exactly similar to that of Sejanus under Tiberius. Like him, he obtained great influence, which he most shockingly abused, until, by his insolence, he brought about his ruin, and that of his friends and family.

In the meanwhile, the Christians every where acknowledged and faithfully obeyed Severus. For this reason, and also from a motive of personal gratitude towards one of them who had cured him of a dangerous sickness, the emperor for some time treated them kindly. A mistaken policy induced him afterwards to change his conduct in their regard. The followers of Christ had multiplied exceedingly in consequence of the peace which they had enjoyed since the reign of Marcus-Aurelius. The miracles which Almighty God daily wrought by their hands, and the spectacles of their extraordinary virtue, drew over to them great numbers of proselytes.* "We fill," said Tertullian to them at that very time, "your cities, your towns, your senate and your armies; we leave you only your temples and theatres."† So rapid an increase threatened the downfall of idolatry. This, together with the clamor of the heathens, probably induced Severus to renew the persecution against the Christians. At first, permitting the magistrates to execute the former laws on this subject, he afterwards expressly authorized their conduct, by a new edict issued in the tenth year of his reign (A. D. 202). Then the persecution became general, and countless numbers received the crown of Martyrdom. The most illustrious of those martyrs were St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, and St. Leonides, the father of Origen who became so celebrated in the church for his genius and learning. Being at that time but seventeen

* These undoubtedly, with the assistance of inward grace, were the only causes of the stupendous diffusion of Christianity; and such persons as have, like Gibbon, attempted to prove the contrary, have proved nothing but the perverseness of their own views and scepticism. Surely, nothing short of a constant and special interposition of God could induce men, buried as they were in vice and idolatry, to embrace a religion so contrary to the passions and vices, so destitute of all human support, so violently attacked by all the powers of earth, by calumnies, vexations, tortures and death. Since Christianity was not only unaided, but even opposed by all *natural* and *human* causes, most certainly its propagation must be attributed to a cause *supernatural* and *divine*.

† Tertull. Apolog. c. 37.

years old, Origen, in a moving letter, exhorted his father to die courageously for the faith of Christ, and he himself, through the desire of martyrdom, would have gone to present himself before the persecutors, had not his mother compelled him to remain at home by concealing his clothes.

The fire of persecution raged for many years throughout the empire, but, far from destroying the Church, it served only to purify her, and make her shine with greater lustre. The Christians presented themselves with courage before the tribunals, and viewed with calmness the racks and other instruments prepared for their torture, ready to meet death in its most cruel shapes. The more they were immolated, the more their number daily increased, the sight of such wonderful examples of fortitude, and of the miracles which the Almighty was pleased frequently to perform on these occasions, leading many of the spectators, sometimes the very executioners and judges, to embrace the Christian religion.

Learning also and eloquence concurred with virtues and miracles in the vindication of Christianity. In order to refute polytheism, the holy priest Clement of Alexandria made deep researches in every part of heathen mythology, which he used as a most powerful weapon against its absurd doctrines. Minutius Felix, a celebrated lawyer at Rome, wrote an excellent dialogue setting forth, with great force of reasoning and purity of style, the absurdities of idolatry and the excellency of the Christian doctrine. But the most powerful work published at that time was the Apologetic of Tertullian, a priest of Carthage. In it, he gave a deadly blow to paganism, by exposing its manifold errors; and victoriously refuted every calumny broached against the Christians, by exhibiting the purity of their lives, their piety towards God, their mutual charity, their love of their enemies, their horror for every vice, their patience and constancy in suffering all kinds of torments, even death itself, for the sake of

virtue. This was plainly showing the injustice of the persecution which they suffered.

Notwithstanding these and other acts of tyranny exercised by Severus, he is not to be reckoned among such abominable princes as we have frequently had occasion to mention. With religious fanaticism and an inflexible spirit of revenge he united many great and laudable qualities, viz., frugality, vigilance and firmness in government, prudence in the management of the public revenues, assiduity and equity in the administration of justice, in fine, a wonderful foresight and solicitude in providing even for the future wants of the people. When he died, there was in the public granaries a quantity of corn and wheat sufficient to support the inhabitants of the Capital for seven years; and all Italy was supplied with oil for five years.

The predominant characteristic of that emperor was his activity and warlike spirit, and the most striking feature in his life is to be found in that rapidity of conquests which rendered him almost equal to Julius Cæsar. Besides his exploits in civil wars, he made two successful campaigns against the Parthians and other nations of the East, one after the defeat of Niger, and the other after the ruin of Albinus. In the latter especially, he gained such victories as to acquire the surname of *Parthicus Maximus*. He failed only in the siege of Atra, a well fortified town near the Tigris, which had also repelled Trajan; but he conquered many other towns in Assyria and Mesopotamia; and in particular, secured to the Romans the possession of the important city of Nisibis, which became the strongest bulwark of the empire on that frontier.

The last expedition of Severus was made in the north of Great Britain against the Caledonians, whom he drove back to their mountains. In order to confine them within due limits, and preserve the Roman colonies from subsequent invasion, he raised a wall similar to, but more solid

than the intrenchment of Adrian, and, like it, extending from one sea to the other. Some of its ruins are yet to be seen between the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and excite the astonishment of the traveller.

As he was going one day to conclude a treaty with the barbarians, in presence of both armies, a sudden cry of horror was heard: Severus turned, and beheld his eldest son, Caracalla, in the act of advancing, sword in hand, to stab him from behind. The outcry stopped the arm of the unnatural son, and his father, without uttering a word, resumed the negotiation of the treaty.

Having returned to his tent, he sent for Caracalla, and, in the presence of Papinianus and Cursor, his chief attendants, reproached him with his heinous crime. Then presenting him with a drawn sword, he added: "If the desire of reigning impels you to imbrue your hands in the blood of your father, satisfy your desire here, rather than in the sight of all, both friends and enemies." No other punishment did he inflict upon him. But neither the just reproaches nor the paternal indulgence of Severus produced any feeling of remorse in Caracalla. On the contrary, he persisted in his detestable intention, and, besides requesting some of the physicians of the court to accelerate his father's death, diligently circulated seditious principles among the soldiers; insinuating, for instance, that it was a disgraceful thing to obey an old man who was infirm, attacked with the gout, and unfit to command them any longer. Reports like these produced a revolt in that portion of the army the direction of which his too indulgent father had confided to him. Severus, assembling the legions, condemned to death the accomplices of his son, but still spared the young prince, and even, it appears, granted pardon to all, at their earnest entreaties. Then addressing himself to them with a loud voice and a majestic air; "You see now," said he, "that it is the head which governs and not the feet."

Shortly after, he fell dangerously sick in the city of

York, and the most painful reflections upon the atrocious conduct of Caracalla preying upon his mind, he felt that his days were drawing to a close. He then called his two sons to his bed-side, and declared his intention of leaving the empire to be possessed by them both, exhorting them at the same time to mutual forbearance and concord (an advice which became as fruitless as it was necessary); he added that, having found the state in disturbance and confusion, he left it quiet and respected.

Some moments before expiring, the emperor cried aloud: "I have been all things, and all things are nothing; and I no where found solid content and happiness." Having ordered the urn, which was to contain his ashes, to be brought to him, he addressed it in these terms: "Thou wilt contain him for whom the whole earth was too little." In order to terminate more speedily his acute and increasing pains, he asked, it is said, for poison; but no one being willing to comply with his desire, he took so great a quantity of food that he was suffocated. This happened in his sixty-sixth year, and about the eighteenth of his reign (A. D. 211). He left behind him the reputation, not of a good, but, in many respects, a great monarch, and, next to Trajan, the most warlike of the Roman emperors. Such was the natural activity of his mind, that, even at the last moment of his life, he was asking whether there was any thing to be done.

Making due allowance for the peculiarities necessarily occasioned by the difference of time, place and other circumstances, there is not perhaps, in all history, a single prince who so strikingly resembles the great conqueror of our own age, Napoleon Buonaparte. Not that Napoleon was as revengeful and inexorable as Severus; but we see in both the same active and warlike genius; the same boldness in undertaking, and quickness in executing; the same talents and firmness in government; the same ardor for the advancement of their families; and, in fine, the same indifference for the lives of other men, when

their own interest and ambitious views were to be promoted.

CARACALLA—MACRINUS—HELIOGABALUS.—A. D. 211–222.

The death of Severus would have caused little regret, had he not been succeeded by such a monster as his son Caracalla, whose name was derived from a Gallic vestment which he was fond of wearing. He commenced his reign by the murder of his brother Geta, and continued, for six years, through such a course of debaucheries, cruelties and rapines, which Europe, Asia, and Egypt successively witnessed, as fully to deserve the name of second Caligula, which is given him by some historians. He was murdered, at the age of twenty-nine years, by Martialis, a centurion, whom he had offended by an act of cruel injustice; but the chief, though secret leader of the plot, was Macrinus, the commander of the imperial guards, whom the cruel emperor had frequently threatened with death. This revolution happened in the year two hundred and seventeen, and was quickly followed by another.

Macrinus experienced little difficulty in obtaining the place of Caracalla; but he did not, by his government, conciliate the affection and esteem of the people; on the contrary, he drew upon himself the contempt of the troops, by concluding a disgraceful peace with the Parthian king, and earned their hatred, by refusing them the favors which they required. A new revolt broke out in favor of young Bassianus, otherwise called Heliogabalus (from his being a priest of the sun), who now claimed the sceptre as being a relation, by his mother, to the Severian family. Both parties had recourse to arms, and an engagement took place, which proved fatal to Macrinus: he was defeated, overtaken in his flight by the conquerors, and deprived not only of the empire, but also of his life, after a reign of only fourteen months (A. D. 218).

All the worst tyrants hitherto mentioned seemed to revive in the person of Heliogabalus. Never was there a more effeminate and despicable, a more dissolute and wicked prince. Every day added to his extravagances, and increased the public indignation. Sensible of the danger to which he was exposed, and unwilling to receive death from any other hands than his own, he prepared silken strings and golden swords, for the purpose of either strangling himself or cutting his throat, if necessary. Moreover, a tower was built for him, surrounded by a pavement of precious stones, that, should he be obliged to precipitate himself from the top, he might at least have his head and limbs bruised in a splendid manner.

All these silly precautions proved useless. Heliogabalus was slain in a privy by the soldiers, and the multitude seizing upon his body, dragged it through the streets of Rome, and threw it into the Tiber (A. D. 222). He had reigned nearly four years, and was succeeded by his cousin Alexander Severus, whose reign presents a spectacle as pleasing as that of his predecessor was execrable.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.—A. D. 222—235.

A NATURAL inclination to virtue, fostered by an excellent education, rendered Alexander Severus one of the most amiable and accomplished princes mentioned in the annals of the world. Justice, goodness and generosity were his favorite virtues. He often repeated this maxim, which he had learned from the Christians: *do to all men, as you would have all men do to you;* he caused it to be engraved on the walls of his palace, and made it the rule of his conduct. He also frequently paid religious homage to our Savior, whose image he kept in a sort of chapel, together with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and other signal benefactors of humanity. This is indeed a singular collection of names; but the fact serves at least to show the

happy inclination of that prince to honor virtue, wherever he found it sincere and active.

Although Alexander was scarcely fourteen years old, when the sovereign power devolved upon him, his administration was truly admirable almost from the beginning. For this he was partly indebted to the prudence of his mother Mammæa, and to a numerous counsel composed, by her care, of the most virtuous senators, the best officers in the army, and the ablest jurisconsults in the state. Aided by such counsellors, and urged on by his own excellent dispositions, Alexander commenced a reign worthy of being proposed as a model to all future sovereigns.

The whole empire needed a thorough reformation; but innumerable were the difficulties to be encountered in the attempt. Alexander was not frightened by their number and magnitude, but immediately set about this great work with vigor. Besides degrading and dismissing all the iniquitous judges and bad officers appointed by Heliogabalus, he made an exact review of all the orders of the state, of the senate, the knights, the tribes and the armies, expelling from them all bad and corrupt members. No guilty person was spared. Even the crimes of those connected with the emperor by the ties of consanguinity or friendship, met with condign punishment. On such occasions, he used to say that the commonwealth was dearer to him than his family.

No criminal did he punish with greater severity than governors who oppressed the people, and judges who suffered themselves to be bribed. So great was his abhorrence of such persons, that, when he beheld any of them, he could not restrain his indignation, but was obliged, as Lampridius relates, to throw up bile, and his fingers, by a sort of natural impulse, were directed towards the face of the criminal, as if to tear out his eyes.* Nor did he

* Lamprid. in vit. Alexandr. Sever.

stop at mere menaces: great severity was used, in order to repress the abuse.

He treated with no less rigor those who made an improper use of the favor which they enjoyed near him, and betrayed his confidence. A certain man, called Vetronius Turinus, who frequently approached the emperor, received from different persons large sums of money, under the false pretence that the benefits of the court were granted through his means; this conduct he called, *selling smoke.* Having been detected in this shameful proceeding, Alexander ordered that he should be tied to a post, about which a fire was made of green wood, so that the smoke might suffocate him; and a herald cried out during the execution: "The seller of smoke is punished with smoke."

An example like this was certainly well calculated to check the evil; but, the more efficaciously to root it out, Alexander directed all his attention to a good choice of governors and magistrates. None could obtain public employments, who had not first merited his esteem and that of the people:* it was even a maxim with him, that they who shunned dignities, were the most worthy of them. He highly approved the custom used in the Christian Church, of publicly proclaiming the names of those who were to be promoted to the priesthood, in order that any objection against them might be made known, and seriously examined. Alexander adopted this plan, declaring beforehand the names of those whom he intended to appoint governors of the provinces. But at the same time, not to excite against them the fury of envy and ma-

* Among the virtuous men in whom Alexander chiefly reposed his confidence, must be reckoned the celebrated historian Dio-Cassius, a native of Nice in Bithynia, and well known at Rome for his manifold merits, which had raised him, under the preceding emperors, to various offices of state, even to the consulship. By Alexander Severus he was entrusted with the government of many important provinces, and appointed consul a second time. After having travelled, and collected documents during ten years, he wrote a complete Roman History in eighty books, many of which are entirely lost, whilst many others are extant only in extracts and abbreviations.

lice, he insisted that the accusations should be of a serious nature and well proved; otherwise, the accusers were punished as vile calumniators.

With equity and justice the young emperor united admirable clemency. Being well informed that a senator of illustrious birth, named Ovinius Camillus, had set on foot a plot to raise himself to the sovereign power, Alexander sent for him, thanked him for his willingness to share the troubles annexed to the crown, and began to treat him as his colleague. At that time, a military expedition was to be made against some barbarians who had revolted. Alexander offered the command to Camillus, and, on his refusal, with prudent generosity invited him to partake at least in the glory of the campaign. They started together on foot. Camillus, being soon tired, was advised by the emperor to take a horse for the rest of the journey, and afterwards to make use of a carriage. These proceedings, so flattering in appearance, mortified him so much, that he abdicated his honors, and hastily returned to his country seat, where Alexander permitted him to live unmolested.

In the conduct of this prince with regard to the troops, prudence and firmness, kindness and severity were admirably blended. He kept them under strict discipline, marched at their head, used the same food and clothing as themselves. However, whilst he required of them an exact performance of their duties, he was affable to all, and paid particular attention that they should not want any thing, especially in time of sickness.

By these means, Alexander obtained the unbounded affection of the soldiers, who considered him as their father and brother, and a surprising influence and respect among them, notwithstanding his youth. Once particularly, being surrounded with discontented legionary soldiers who expressed their displeasure on account of a punishment inflicted on some of their number, he endeavored first to appease their murmurs by exhortations and

menaces. As they persisted in their clamors, Alexander said to them, with a tone of indignation: "Citizens, retire, and leave your arms." The astounded legion laid down their arms, took off the military insignia, and retired in silence. But, after having thus vindicated his authority, the emperor, moved by their supplications, received them again into favor, and ever after enjoyed their inviolable fidelity and attachment.

Another important object of Alexander's care was the public treasury. He managed the revenues of the state with so much wisdom, that he was enabled to reduce the taxes imposed by Heliogabalus, in the proportion of thirty to one; and still, far from abolishing the usual favors granted to the soldiers and the people, he, on the contrary, seemed continually occupied in bestowing benefits. Liberality regulated by prudence formed one of the most remarkable features in his character. He took particular pleasure in giving to the poor, especially to those who, having a certain rank to support, were destitute of the means of so doing, and had not fallen into distress through their own fault. In a word, history bears him the glorious testimony, that he never suffered a day to pass without performing some act of humanity.

It should not then appear astonishing that the veneration and love of the Romans for Alexander was carried to a sort of enthusiasm. Whenever he had to depart from Rome on some distant expedition, he was accompanied to a distance by the whole senate and all the people, who manifested, by their tears, their affection for so good a prince, and their grief for his departure, he himself mingling his tears with theirs. When he returned, he could scarcely advance through the streets, on account of the immense multitude of people that surrounded him crying aloud, with transports of joy: "Rome is happy, since she sees Alexander alive."

The chief occasion that made him leave the Capital for a time, was an important event which had just happened

in the East. By a sudden revolution, the Parthian empire, which civil feuds had previously weakened, fell, after a duration of four hundred and fifty years, and the ancient Persian monarchy was re-established by a certain Artaxerxes, son of Sassan, and first king of the dynasty of the Sassanides (A. D. 226). This great change was of no advantage to the Romans, as the Persians gave them, for many centuries, as much trouble at least, as the Parthians had done before. In the very beginning of their new monarchy, they attacked Mesopotamia and Syria with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, and seven hundred elephants carrying wooden towers, each containing many archers. However, formidable as they were, the Persians could not resist the intrepidity of the Roman legions commanded by their emperor in person; and, after suffering considerable loss, they were compelled to retire. This is the most probable account given of that expedition, which was no sooner over, than Alexander, upon information of the disturbances excited by the Germans in the West, speedily returned to Rome, where he received the honors of a splendid triumph.

At his departure from the East, he left a sufficient number of troops to prevent or repel any subsequent invasions of the enemy. These and other troops employed by Alexander in the Persian war, were not only brave in the field, but likewise so well trained by good discipline, that in their marches and in their whole deportment they rather resembled so many bodies of grave senators: hence every one highly extolled the excellent emperor for the great benefits which he conferred on the army.

Far more difficult, and terribly fatal in the result, was the attempt to establish the same good order among the legions of Gaul and Germany. Alexander had now repaired to those countries, for the purpose of driving back the Germans beyond the Rhine. Accustomed as some of these legions were to disorder and licentiousness, they could not bear the idea of being subjected to the yoke of

strict discipline. Wherefore, by the secret direction of Maximin, one of their generals, they attacked the young emperor in his tent; perceiving that all resistance would be useless, he covered his face with his cloak, and yielded himself an easy victim (A. D. 235).

Alexander lived nearly twenty-seven years, and reigned thirteen: a prince, equal, if not superior, to the most renowned among the Roman emperors. Trajan, Marcus-Aurelius, and some few others, performed perhaps greater exploits, or were more successful in some respects; but we should remember that they had reached a more mature age, when they mounted the throne, than Alexander when he was precipitated from it. No greater misfortune could have befallen the empire, than his premature death. It was followed, during fifty years, by so many treasons, civil wars and other calamities, that the third century has derived from them the name of *iron-age*. Of the many emperors who reigned in that period until Diocletian, scarcely one escaped a violent death. We will comprise most of them under the following head of

MILITARY USURPERS.—A. D. 235—268.

As it was not known, at the time of Alexander's death, that Maximin had been its chief promoter, the whole army, through esteem for his natural bravery, saluted him emperor. He was of Gothic extraction, a native of Thrace, and had been a shepherd before enlisting among the Roman troops. He was of an enormous stature, being, we are told, about nine feet high, and stout in proportion. His strength was not less astonishing than his size. He could, without assistance, move a waggon heavily laden; and, with a blow of his fist, break the teeth or leg of a horse. Hence he was compared with Milo the Crotonian, Hercules, and Antæus, those prodigies of strength in pagan antiquity; like them also he was an ex-

traordinary eater and drinker. He required forty pounds of meat and seven gallons of wine for his daily allowance.

This great bulk of body was accompanied in Maximin with that brutality which is its almost necessary appendage in an uncultivated mind. He was, it is true, an excellent warrior, and gained many bloody victories over the Germans; but we may say without exaggeration that he shed still more blood throughout the empire, by persecuting the Christians, whom his predecessor had, on the contrary, favored, and by putting to death numbers of persons, who either knew the meanness of his extraction, or by their eminent merit excited his jealousy and fears. The people also suffered very much from his rapine and extortions.

Having, by so many acts of tyranny, provoked universal hatred, Maximin was murdered by his own troops, near Aquileia, after a reign of three years (A. D. 238). Four competitors, whom the senate had opposed to him, viz., the two Gordians in Africa, and Maximus with Balbinus in Rome, also perished about the same time, by the fury of the soldiery.

After them, Gordian the younger, or the third, reigned six years. His youth and virtuous inclinations, his prosperous government, and great victories over the Persians, made him a living copy of Alexander Severus. He resembled him likewise in his death, being murdered by the orders of Philip, the prefect of his guards (A. D. 244).

Philip reigned five years, after which he was slain in battle whilst endeavoring to repress the revolt of Decius, one of his generals (A. D. 249). He governed with prudence and courage the empire which he had acquired by crime, and was favorable to the Christians.

Decius was on the contrary one of the most cruel enemies of Christianity; and the seventh general persecution, of which he was the author, made an incredible number of martyrs. Nothing else of great importance is known concerning this emperor, except that, having

undertaken a war against the Goths, which at first succeeded well, he afterwards rashly entangled himself in marshy places, was entirely defeated, and perished with his son and his whole army (A. D. 251).

Gallus, a Roman general, whose treacherous advice was probably the cause of this disaster, remained in possession of the sovereign power, but kept it only one year and a half. He carried on the persecution commenced by Decius, and, like him, was killed with his son Volusian. Æmilian, his successor, was put to death by his own troops, after a still shorter reign of four months (A. D. 253).

The imperial dignity was now, by the unanimous consent of all orders of the state, conferred on Valerian, a venerable senator, who had greatly distinguished himself in inferior employments. He continued to evince great prudence in common and easy affairs; but for matters of importance his talents and mind proved inadequate. In the seventh year of his reign he suffered a signal defeat from the Persians, and owing to his own imprudence, was taken prisoner (A. D. 260). King Sapor treated him with the utmost indignity. When he wished to get on horseback or to enter his chariot, he forced the unhappy emperor to bend his body and present his neck as a stirrup. Whilst riding, he compelled him to run by his side, though loaded with his chains. In fine, after several years of the most ignominious and cruel captivity, Valerian was not only put to death, but also flayed, and his skin, painted red, was suspended in a Persian temple, to serve as a lasting monument of the disgrace of the Romans.

The heathens wondered at the dreadful fate of Valerian; but the Christians easily perceived in it the hand of God falling heavily upon a prince who, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, had cruelly persecuted them. For, although he knew their fidelity, and was naturally good and moderate, superstition and evil advice induced him to command the eighth general persecution. It lasted three

years and a half, and was extremely violent, especially in Africa, where, among others, St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, was beheaded; and in Rome, where the illustrious Deacon St. Lawrence was burnt by a slow fire. Ecclesiastical historians relate that, when one side of his body was burnt, he himself requested that the other side also should be presented to the fire; and adding, after a few moments, that he was now sufficiently roasted, calmly expired in the midst of his horrid torments.

Not Valerian only, but the whole empire, so obstinately bent on shedding the blood of the Christians, had to undergo the punishments inflicted by divine justice. Both the Capital and the provinces were visited by calamities of every description. Within the space of a few years, not fewer than twenty pretenders* were seen exerting themselves to obtain possession of the sovereign power. The frontiers were attacked and the Roman territories invaded by the Persians, Sarmatians, Goths, Germans, and other barbarians. In fine, earthquakes, famine and pestilence made frightful ravages from one extremity of the empire to the other, and particularly in Rome, where the plague sometimes carried off five thousand persons in one day. These various calamities happened under the reign of Galienus, an indolent and unworthy prince, who was killed by some of his officers (A. D. 268).

So many disasters seemed to indicate the approaching downfall of the empire; but it was saved from destruction, nay more, restored to its ancient splendor, by a long series of great emperors, the first of whom, according to the order of time, was

* The common opinion says *thirty*, but is contradicted by facts and by fair calculation: not more than eighteen or twenty of these pretenders can be found in the exact enumeration of them given by the most accurate historians, viz., Tillemont, vol. III., note 1, on Gallienus; Crévier, hist. des Emp. Rom. vol. X, p.p. 353 and 441. It must also be observed that the name of *tyrant*, by which they are usually designated, is not equally applicable to all, several of them having been highly commendable for their endowments and moral virtues.—N. B. The word *tyrants*, as here used, was applied to men who, having assumed the title and power of *emperors*, died without being acknowledged as such in Rome and by the senate.

CLAUDIUS II.—A. D. 268—270.

A happy union of moral, civil and military acquirements raised Claudius II. to an equality of merit with Trajan. He incurred, it is true, the guilt of sharing in the murder of his predecessor; but afterwards, nothing appeared in him but love of justice, true patriotism and heroic magnanimity. These princely virtues he displayed, notwithstanding the shortness of his reign, on several occasions, and, when circumstances required, he did not hesitate to practise them against his own interest. Thus, when a woman came to complain of the wrong she had formerly suffered from a certain officer named Claudius, the emperor, understanding that the allusion was to himself, did not take offence at the boldness of the complaint, but presently repaired the wrong, and, by so doing, evinced his readiness to sacrifice every selfish feeling to the rule of equity.

This excellent prince reigned just long enough to destroy a hostile fleet of two thousand sail, and an army of three hundred and twenty thousand Goths who had invaded Macedonia. He attacked them first near Naïssus, in a battle which lasted long and was obstinately disputed. The Romans gave way in several places; but at length, a detachment of their army going round by roads which seemed impassable, fell upon the rear and flanks of their enemies. This unexpected attack decided the victory, and the Goths were forced to retreat, after having lost fifty thousand men. They rallied however their shattered forces, and hazarded a new battle, which proved as disastrous as the former. They who escaped, were closely pursued by Claudius; yet such was the fierceness and valor of the barbarians, that, even in the deplorable condition to which they were now reduced, they once more rallied, and rendered doubtful the event of the battle. Falling with desperate courage upon the Roman infantry,

they threw it into confusion, cut part of it in pieces, and would probably have completed its destruction, if the horse, wheeling round, had not compelled the wearied troops to retire. The sad remnant took refuge in the passes of mount Hæmus, and fell victims to famine and disease.

The Roman fleet, after scouring the seas, returned, loaded with booty, to Macedonia, in order to rejoin the army. But that army was already dispersed, and the arrival of sea-troops at that fatal shore, served only to increase the disasters of their nation. The ships, being deprived of their defenders, had sunk and were destroyed; the men, unable to penetrate into a country in which every thing opposed them, were forced to disband and take different directions. They were slain, or taken prisoners, or carried off by a contagious distemper; so that of this incredible multitude of barbarians, only a few stragglers escaped.

After this exploit, one of the greatest ever performed by any Roman general or emperor, Claudius was attacked by the plague, which had broken out among his troops, and died at Syrmium in Pannonia (A. D. 270). His death caused inexpressible grief among the people, as well as in the army. No sooner had he expired than the legions chose as his successor, Aurelian, one of his bravest generals.

AURELIAN.—A. D. 270—275.

The military feats of Aurelian had been great before, they were still more conspicuous after his accession to the throne. He began by checking the inroads of numerous hordes of Germans, Vandals and other barbarians, who had advanced so far as to invade Italy itself. Then, after a short stay in Rome, he departed for the East, where the state of affairs demanded all his attention.

A powerful monarchy had been recently founded there

by the illustrious queen Zenobia, a woman distinguished for her superior mind, her activity, and all the virtues that adorn exalted station. Naturally possessed of great talents, she improved them by study and application, became perfectly acquainted with history, on which she herself wrote a book, and besides the Syriac, her native tongue, knew also the Egyptian, Greek and Latin languages, which she had learned at the school of the celebrated rhetorician Longinus. After the death of her husband Odenat, prince of Palmyra, who had been a constant friend and useful ally to the Romans, Zenobia took advantage of the many calamities of the empire to invade its fairest provinces in Asia and Africa, and having formed to herself an extensive monarchy, maintained her independence for five or six years with great honor and success.

It was against this princess that Aurelian now directed all his efforts, and one year was sufficient to put an end to her prosperity, notwithstanding the many obstacles which he had to surmount. On his way from Rome to the East, he was obliged to fight against numerous bodies of barbarians who pillaged the country; his progress was also arrested in Asia Minor by some towns which sided with Zenobia. Tyana, in particular, seemed disposed to offer a vigorous resistance. Aurelian, exasperated at this hindrance, swore in his anger that he would not leave a dog alive in that rebellious town; a resolution highly pleasing to the soldiers who rejoiced beforehand in the hope of obtaining great booty. After the city was taken, the troops entreated Aurelian to keep his oath. "I have sworn," replied he, "not to leave a dog alive in Tyana: kill, then, if you will, all the dogs, but I forbid you to do any harm to the inhabitants." This generous answer, though it disappointed cupidity, obtained universal applause.

In the meanwhile Zenobia, with numerous troops, had come forward to oppose the further progress of Aurelian. After two battles near Antioch, the result of which was

unfavorable to her cause, the two armies, amounting each to about seventy thousand men, engaged in a general battle under the walls of Emesa. At the first onset, the Palmyrian cavalry gained a considerable advantage over that of the Romans. Being more numerous, and the Romans having made a movement, in order to extend their front and prevent themselves from being surrounded, the enemy's horse, which attacked them at that very instant, easily broke their disordered ranks, and put them to flight. But, yielding too much to their ardor, the conquerors caused the rest of their army to lose the fruit of their good fortune by amusing themselves in pursuing the fugitives. The Roman infantry, whose strength was invincible, seeing the other Palmyrian soldiers deprived of the assistance of their cavalry, made a vigorous attack upon them, and put them in disorder. The cavalry of the Romans, reanimated by the success of their infantry, rallied and enabled Aurelian to gain a decisive victory.

The enemy had suffered considerable loss. Zenobia, unable to keep the field any longer, shut herself up in Palmyra, her capital, where she was soon besieged by the Romans. Palmyra, a town famous in antiquity, had been founded by Solomon,* and had gradually increased in prosperity and wealth, till, under Odenat and Zenobia, it reached a surprising degree of splendor, as its magnificent remains still testify. The situation of that city in the deserts of Syria, between the Roman and Persian dominions, rendered it a very important place; the more so, as it was well fortified, and abundantly supplied with troops, arms and engines of war.

By these means of defence, Zenobia sustained the siege with a courage proportioned to the vigor of the attack, and which excited the admiration of Aurelian himself. "Truly incredible," he said in a letter which he then wrote, "is the quantity of darts and stones which she

* II Paralip. VII, 4.

pours upon us ; she does not leave us one moment of rest, day or night." Unhappily for the besieged, bodies of auxiliary troops upon which they relied for assistance, were defeated by Aurelian, and provisions began to fail in the town. In this extremity, the queen set out during the night, to go and implore the aid of the Persians. But Aurelian, being informed of her escape, sent a detachment of cavalry, which overtook her, and made her prisoner as she was about to cross the Euphrates. She was immediately conducted to Aurelian, and appeared before him with an undaunted air. To his question, why she had been so bold as to oppose the emperors of Rome, this witty and skilful princess answered : " You I consider as a real emperor ; but Galienus and such as resembled him, I never thought worthy of that title, nor could I see any reason why I should not maintain my power against them, and refuse to submit to their control."

On the news of the capture of the queen, Palmyra surrendered, and being well and generously treated by the conqueror, appeared to him a secure conquest. However, the submission of the Palmyrians lasted little longer than the time of his presence among them : after his departure, they revolted and slaughtered the Roman garrison. As soon as the news of this treacherous act reached the emperor, on his return to Rome, he hastened back with his victorious troops, took Palmyra a second time, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, reduced the town to a state of desolation equal to its former glory. As for Zenobia, she was led to Rome, and obtained from her conqueror an honorable retreat, where she spent in quiet the remainder of her life.

Besides the eastern provinces, Aurelian also recovered Gaul and some other countries of the West, which, from the time of Galienus, had been occupied by the barbarians, or formed, under their governors, into separate states. Most of those exploits were performed with surprising rapidity (A. D. 273).

Having thus pacified the whole empire, and restored it to its ancient limits, Aurelian applied himself to establish order in every department of the public administration. He took many excellent measures for that purpose; but he did not sufficiently curb the violence of his temper, which prompted him to acts of cruelty. His inflexible rigor, after causing the death of many, became the occasion of his own ruin. Suspecting Mnestheus, his secretary, of malversation, he threatened him with condign punishment; and it was well known that punishment usually followed his threats. Mnestheus, who probably knew himself to be guilty, resolved to escape the danger, and for this end devised a dark and horrid plot. Counterfeiting the emperor's hand-writing, which he had long practised, he drew up a proscription list of the principal officers of the army, and found means to bring it to their notice. The officers did not suspect the forgery. Alarmed at their supposed danger, they concerted together, and, during the march of the troops whom Aurelian was then leading against the Persians, they fell upon him at a moment when he was accompanied by a small guard, and despatched him with their swords, in the fifth year of his reign, and sixty-third of his age. All his murderers were punished, Mnestheus first, and the others sooner or later; and though Aurelian was little regretted by several persons, the people and the army seemed to vie with each other in honoring the memory of a prince who, notwithstanding the short duration of his government, had rendered highly important services to the empire (A. D. 275).

The Christians did not at first experience any particular rigor from Aurelian; he rather seemed disposed to treat them according to the laws of equity, as he did his other subjects. But his feelings being afterwards, through human considerations, changed in their regard, the ninth general persecution broke out, and though short, made many martyrs.

INTERREGNUM—TACITUS.—A. D. 275—276.

The death of Aurelian gave rise to an event almost unexampled in history, a contest of mutual deference between the army and the senate. During the space of six or eight months, they several times referred to each other the election of a sovereign; and, what is still more extraordinary, affairs remained perfectly quiet all that time.

At last the senate, yielding to the wishes of the army, named Tacitus, one of its chief members, a man of great wisdom and experience, and a descendant, so at least he considered himself, of the illustrious historian of the same name. He reluctantly accepted the dangerous dignity; notwithstanding the equity of his administration, and the success of his exertions against the barbarians, he was after a very short reign, killed by a rebellious soldiery. Some relate however that he died of a fever.

PROBUS.*—A. D. 276—282.

The legions of the East now raised to the throne their commander Probus, a general of uncommon merit, and who to extraordinary probity signified by his name, united wonderful courage and greatness of soul. A prince of this character was peculiarly fitted for the time and circumstances in which he lived. The empire was attacked on all sides by the barbarians; Probus defeated them all, and drove them back beyond the frontiers. The Germans especially felt the invincible strength of his arms, by the

* We purposely omit mentioning in the catalogue of Roman emperors, Florianus, a brother of Tacitus, who took the purple and was acknowledged by a considerable portion of the troops, but for some weeks only. The same had also happened, in the beginning of the reign of Aurelian, to Quintillus, a brother of Claudius II.

heavy losses which he inflicted on their nation. In a single campaign, he destroyed four hundred thousand of them, and those who escaped, were so much intimidated, that, for several years, they did not venture to renew their incursions.

Probus resolved also to check the pride of the Persians, and marched into the East against their king Varanes. He had already stationed his troops upon the mountains of Armenia, from which the enemy's country was seen, when the Persian monarch sent ambassadors to him. The audience which they obtained, recalls the plainness and magnanimity of the Romans of ancient times. Probus was seated on the grass, and eating his dinner, which consisted of old peas and salt meat, when the Persian ambassadors arrived in his presence. "I am," said he to them, "the Roman emperor; go, and tell your master, that if he does not, on this very day, bind himself to repair the damage which he has done to the Romans, he will see, before the end of the month, every part of his kingdom laid waste, and as bare as my head is." At the same time, he took off his cap, to let them see his head which was entirely bald. He added that, if they wished to eat, they were welcome to a part of his dinner; if not, they must leave the camp without delay, their commission being executed. The king of Persia, alarmed at this news, hastened in person to the camp of the Romans, and concluded the treaty on the conditions laid down by the emperor.

Not long after this, Probus, to prevent the soldiers from remaining idle, made them drain a marsh near Syrmium in Pannonia. They revolted, and killed this most excellent emperor, whose loss was seriously felt and deeply regretted by the whole empire. For, among all the princes that ever sat upon the throne of the Cæsars, it would be difficult to name one superior to Probus. Ever successful in war, he however had recourse to arms through necessity only, preferring honorable peace to

military glory. As moderate perhaps as Marcus-Aurelius, he was more fit for war; as a general, at least equal to Aurelian, he was milder and more gentle in his disposition; always attentive to the happiness of his subjects; always engaged in useful undertakings, and in endeavoring to make the labor of his soldiers conducive to the advantages of peace. During his reign, a space of about six years, he built or repaired seventy cities, and formed a great number of excellent generals, several of whom successively became emperors after him, viz., Carus, Diocletian, Maximian-Hercules and Constantius-Chlorus. The empire, raised from its declining state by Claudius II, and restored to its former glory by Aurelian, attained under Probus its greatest splendor; and, had not the crime of the soldiers shortened his days, he might have revived the fortunate age of the Antonines or of Augustus.

CARUS, AND HIS TWO SONS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN. A. D. 282—284.

After the death of Probus in 282, Carus, the commander of the prætorian guard, was judged by the soldiers worthy of filling his place. He reigned sixteen months, during which he found sufficient time to overthrow the Sarmatians in a great battle, and, besides defeating the Persians also on different occasions, took some of their principal cities, and carried terror into the very heart of their empire. He intended to pursue his advantage further, but was killed, according to common report, by a thunderbolt, whilst in his tent near the river Tigris.

He left two sons, Carinus and Numerian; the former, a profligate and brutal, the latter, a gentle and learned prince, and so affectionate to his father, that he lost his sight by weeping for the death of Carus. Both seemed to have mounted the throne only to be assassinated; Numerian, by his father-in-law, whilst he was borne in a litter; and Carinus, during a battle, by one of his own officers.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN;
AFTERWARDS
CONSTANTIUS-CHLORUS AND GALERIUS.—A. D. 284—306.

Diocletian had no share in the murder of his predecessors, but, upon the unanimous choice of the army, willingly occupied their place, for which his high office in the army seemed to have fitted him. Shortly after his accession, he associated to himself in the government of the state, Maximian, surnamed Hercules, a greater warrior than himself, though not so skilful a politician. Both of them sustained, by their victories against the surrounding barbarians, the majesty and reputation of the empire: Great Britain, however, was severed from it for ten years, under the skilful usurper Carausius, and his successor Allectus.

But the hostile tribes of Pannonia and Germany, seemed to be multiplied by their very defeats, and meditated new invasions. In order to oppose so many enemies with greater facility and success, it was resolved by the two emperors, that each one of them should take an assistant, with the inferior title of Cæsar. The choice of Maximian fell on Constantius-Chlorus, a man still more worthy of esteem for his equity, wisdom and liberality, than for his noble extraction and great ability in arms. He ruled with admirable prudence the portion of the empire allotted to him, namely, Spain, Gaul and Great Britain, which last he reconquered. The barbarians were repulsed by his repeated victories, and the people enjoyed great happiness under his truly paternal government. In return, he possessed the affection of all, as the following anecdote, related by Eusebius, testifies.*

Constantius, for fear of distressing his provinces, levied so few taxes, that the treasury was empty. Diocletian,

* Euseb. in vitâ Constant. l. i. c. 14.

who was of a very different disposition, sent to reprove him for his neglect. Constantius requested the deputies to remain for some days with him, and during that interval, sent notice to the richest inhabitants of the provinces, that he was in want of money; all hastened to bring their gold and silver to the treasury, which was soon filled. Then Constantius requested the deputies to examine the money, and said to them: "All that you see, has long since been mine; but I had left it in trust in the hands of my people." He then returned the whole to the owners; being certain of obtaining the same assistance, whenever he would be in want, and justly persuaded that the safest treasure of a prince is the love of his subjects.

The choice which Diocletian made of Galerius for his assistant in the East, was not so happy. This Galerius had been a cow-herd, and, though he afterwards passed through the usual military grades, he still retained too much of his origin. In his actions, as well as his corpulence, there was much more to inspire aversion and terror, than to conciliate affection and esteem.* His only talent was for war, and even in war he sometimes evinced greater valor than prudence. Being sent by Diocletian to oppose the Persian king Narses, who threatened Syria with an invasion, he imprudently risked a battle with a small number of troops, and was conquered. The emperor, who liked nothing so much as prudence, was indignant at a defeat caused by such temerity, and to make Galerius feel his displeasure, when he returned, let him follow his car a considerable way on foot, though vested in purple.

Galerius, instead of being discouraged by these affronts, conceived a most ardent desire of effacing the disgrace of his defeat. He succeeded beyond expectation. With a

* Erat corpus moribus congruens, status celsus, caro ingens, et in horrendam magnitudinem diffusa et inflata. Denique et verbis, et actibus, et aspectu, terrori omnibus ac formidini fuit.—*Lactantius, de morte persecut. No.* IX.

body of twenty-five thousand men, he attacked the Persians in their camp, killed twenty thousand of their number, and took a great number of prisoners, with an immense booty. Narses, thus deprived of his army and resources by a single blow, sued for peace, which was granted him upon the cession of several provinces (A. D. 297).

If Galerius had been humbled by his defeat, he was not less elated with victory. He from that time assumed a greater share of authority in the government, and chiefly directed his increasing power against Christianity. His mother, a peevish woman and much devoted to the worship of her idols, had inspired him with a mortal hatred against the Christians, and he left nothing undone to prevail upon Diocletian to persecute them to death. The emperor, naturally moderate, for a long time rejected the cruel proposal. Galerius then had recourse to the calumny formerly made use of by Nero in a similar circumstance. By secret orders and management, he caused the imperial palace at Nicomedia to be set on fire, laid the odious deed to the charge of the Christians, and the better to show his conviction of their guilt, ran away with apparent fright, saying that he did not like to be burnt by those enemies of both gods and emperors.

At length Diocletian yielded, and in the year 303, issued his edicts for the tenth general persecution, the most violent and bloody that the Church ever suffered. Racks and fires, boiling oil and melted lead, sharp stakes and burning pincers, in a word, the most acute and exquisite torments were employed against the worshippers of Christ, and in every age, rank and state of society, many were the victims of that frightful persecution. A particular account of its enormities belongs rather to Ecclesiastical History. It suffices here to say, with Lactantius and Eusebius, both grave, learned and contemporary historians, that the whole earth, with the exception of Gaul,

was a prey to the fury of three wild beasts,* and that it is impossible to tell how many and how eminent they were who presented themselves in every city and country, as martyrs in the cause of Christ.† At Nicomedia, where the persecution commenced, persons of every description were put to death. On account of their numbers, whole companies were burnt together; while others were beheaded, or cast into the sea; a vast number perished in this manner with their bishop Anthimus. At Tarsus, Alexandria, Antioch, in Mesopotamia, Pontus, etc., crowds of Christians were likewise tortured in different ways. In Thebaïs, it frequently happened, during the course of several years, that from ten to a hundred persons suffered martyrdom together on the same day. A little before, in the north of Italy, six thousand six hundred soldiers, who composed the Theban legion, chose to be butchered by their companions, rather than renounce their faith. In Phrygia, a whole city, inhabited entirely by Christians, was surrounded by a large body of soldiers, who set fire to it, and all the inhabitants were consumed in the flames, whilst invoking the name of our Savior.‡

In a word, such was the rage of the persecutors, and such the quantity of Christian blood spilt by them throughout the empire, that they hoped for a time to succeed in the design of abolishing Christianity. But they boasted in vain: the church of Christ stood, under the sword of persecution, as firm and strong as ever, whereas dreadful calamities began to fall on the persecutors.

Diocletian had hitherto reigned with great glory, and with a superiority of political talents that conciliated to him the respect of all his associates in the empire. But, in the year 304, he lost his health, and various misfortunes harassed him and frequently disturbed his reason. In that state, Galerius advised, or rather compelled him

* De morte persecutorum, No. XVI. † Eccles. Hist. lib. VIII, c. 4.
‡ See note C.

by threats to give up the government, and to quit, together with Maximian, the imperial purple. They did so in 305, and were thus reduced to the condition of private citizens, whilst Constantius-Chlorus and Galerius, became emperors, two new Cæsars being appointed to fill their vacant places.

After his resignation, Diocletian retired to Salona in Dalmatia, his native country, where he lived eight years longer, amusing himself in the culture of a small garden, an occupation which he at length preferred to the honors of the throne. But life became burdensome to him, when he learned the destruction of his statues and the triumph of Christianity under Constantine. Lactantius relates* that, seeing himself despised and loaded with disgrace, he was in perpetual uneasiness, and could neither eat nor sleep. He was heard to sigh and groan continually; frequently shed tears, and threw himself sometimes on his bed, sometimes on the ground. At last excessive grief and starvation, and perhaps poison, carried him off in the 68th year of his age.

The fate of Maximian was not less wretched. He attempted two or three times, but in vain, to resume the sovereign power which he had abdicated, and even to murder his son-in-law, Constantine. Being detected, he hanged himself in despair.

But the justice of God no where appeared more visible than in the death of Galerius, who had been the most cruel of these impious persecutors. He was attacked with a frightful disease, the same exactly which, in more ancient times, had afflicted the impious kings Antiochus and Herod Agrippa, for having also waged war against God and his servants.† An ulcer corroded and laid open his very bowels. His body was a mass of corruption and swarmed with vermin: the stench infected, not only his palace, but also the whole neighborhood in the city of Sar-

* De morte persec. No. 42. † II Macchab. IX.—Act. Apost. XII.

dica, and was intolerable even to his own servants, as Eusebius testifies.* His pains were so acute as to wring from him the most agonizing cries; nor could any means be devised to alleviate his sufferings. The horrid distemper continued to increase in violence, till at length it put an end to the emperor's life, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Thus did the persecutors of Christianity disappear from the earth, with the evident marks of the wrath of God upon them. As Constantius-Chlorus had not imitated their example, so likewise he did not share in their disasters. If he could not easily prevent all acts of violence in the provinces, he himself at least never tormented the Christians; on the contrary, he always manifested the most favorable dispositions in their regard. When the bloody edicts of Diocletian were brought to him, he feigned at first to be willing to put them in execution. Assembling the Christians of his palace, he told them that they must, in compliance with the imperial orders, renounce either their religion, or their employments and dignities. Some indeed were not ashamed to sacrifice spiritual to temporal interest; but the majority appeared fully disposed to lose every thing on earth for conscience' sake. Then Constantius, disclosing his real sentiments, dismissed the former from his service, saying that persons so attached to their own interests, and so treacherous to their God, would not be more faithful to their prince. But he kept near his person those who had continued firm in their faith, declaring them worthy to be intrusted with the care of his most important concerns.

One thing gave him much uneasiness, namely, the absence of his eldest son, Constantine, who having been long before sent to the court of Diocletian as a hostage for his father's fidelity, was unjustly detained there by Galerius, and charged by this wicked prince with a thousand perilous commissions. Constantius, informed

* Eccles. Hist. lib. VIII. c. 16.

of these continual dangers to which his son was exposed, most urgently solicited his return, to which, at last, Galerius pretended to consent, giving the young prince permission to set out on the following day from Nicomedia, but resolving at the same time, to find some new pretext for delay. But Constantine, aware of the danger, started at night, without the knowledge of the treacherous emperor, and travelled with the utmost haste, taking care to kill or disable all the post-horses on his road, to prevent the possibility of his being overtaken. The following day, Galerius was transported with rage at the news of his escape, and ordered that he should be pursued, but in vain: Constantine was already beyond the reach of danger.

He joined his father just in time to close the eyes of that excellent prince, who died at York in Great Britain (A. D. 306). Constantius displayed, in his last moments, the same wisdom and prudence which had characterized his whole life. Instead of meeting with any of the catastrophies which befel the other contemporary princes, he quietly expired in the midst of an affectionate family, having the consolation to leave behind him a son so worthy of being his successor, and who was moreover destined by Divine Providence to be the first emperor that should make an open profession of Christianity, and give peace to the church after three hundred years of sufferings.

PART II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CONSTANTINE (A. D. 306), TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST (A. D. 476).

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.—A. D. 306—337.

Possessed of an elevated genius, great heroism, a noble appearance, a generous heart, Constantine seemed, from the beginning, well qualified to reign over the universe. For some years however, his authority was confined to Britain, Spain and Gaul: the other provinces were yet under the sway of Galerius and his associates, Licinius and Maximin II; to whom must be added the son of Maximian-Hercules, Maxentius, who had made himself master of Rome and of all Italy.

Besides this partition of the empire, which unavoidably weakened the forces of each emperor, the dominions of Constantine were the most exposed to the inroads of the German tribes, and particularly of the Franks. He engaged in a long struggle against them, and on his part conducted it with great vigor and severity, allowing no quarter in order to force them into submission. They were checked for a time; and when they began to meditate new attacks, he sent against them his eldest son Crispus, who gained a signal victory, and joyfully returned through snow and ice to offer his father the homage of his first exploit. The Franks, after this severe lesson, remained quiet during the whole reign of Constantine.

He had now to contend with more formidable enemies. Maxentius, the tyrant of Rome, a prince sullied with every vice, had declared his hostile designs, which he intended to support by force of arms, having one hundred

and ninety-eight thousand warriors at his command. Constantine had scarcely half that number, and was obliged to leave a part of his army in Gaul, to defend its frontiers against the barbarians. Aware of this great disparity of forces, his mind was assailed by anxiety, and he began to think of obtaining the assistance of Heaven. The dreadful fate of the persecutors of Christianity had already given him some just notions respecting the true God whom the Christians adored. That God he fervently invoked, entreating him to be his protector; and the Almighty heard a prayer which came from a sincere and an upright heart.

As the emperor was marching with his troops into Italy, on a certain day in the afternoon, he saw in the sky, just over the sun, the figure of a luminous cross, with the following inscription: (ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ) IN THIS CONQUER. His army, as well as himself, saw the splendid prodigy, which struck all the beholders with astonishment.* Constantine was inspired to make a representation of that cross, and to use it as a standard in battle. He accordingly made the famous banner called *Labarum*, and being thus encouraged by evident marks of divine protection, confidently commenced the war against Maxentius.

He first presented himself before Suza, a strong town at the entrance of Italy, took it by storm, and then advanced towards Turin. He found there an army waiting in good order and ready to give him battle. A body of horse completely armed after the manner of the eastern cavalry, was its principal strength. Constantine, who knew that these cuirassiers, confined as they were in their armor, could only advance, and that the least motion either backward or to either side was extremely difficult for them,

* The miraculous apparition of the cross to Constantine is placed beyond the reach of reasonable doubt, by the concurring testimonies of Socrates the historian, Sozomen, Philostorgius, etc., but especially of Eusebius, who expressly declares that he had learned it from the mouth of Constantine himself, who confirmed the assertion with his oath. *Euseb. in vitâ Constant. lib.* I, *c.* 27, 28.

opened his ranks to receive them, and immediately his soldiers, with great clubs, struck down both horses and riders, and killed them all, without losing a single man on their side. The rest of the army of Maxentius was easily and completely routed. Turin received the conqueror with joy; Milan, soon after, did the same, and the whole country on the left of the Po, from Turin to Brescia, willingly accepted his laws. His clemency served greatly to facilitate his conquests. He was not one of those haughty conquerors who mark their progress with terror and devastation. The cities which submitted to him had reason to rejoice at their good fortune, as they experienced from him nothing but benevolence and generosity.

At Brescia, he was again opposed by a great body of horse, but this also yielded and retreated towards Verona, where a fresh and numerous army had been assembled, by order of Maxentius, under the command of Ruricius Pompeianus, a general of great repute. Constantine however, having safely crossed the Adige, did not hesitate to besiege Verona, and repelled all the attacks made to hinder his approach. Ruricius fearing that the city would soon be compelled to surrender, secretly withdrew, and raising another supply of troops, returned with them in order to fight Constantine, and force him to abandon the siege. The emperor was, by that means, between the city and an army of enemies coming to attack him in his camp. In this perplexing situation, he formed his plan with equal bravery and judgment, and leaving a part of his troops to continue the siege of Verona, marched with the rest against Ruricius. He had fewer men than his adversary, and was obliged to draw up his whole army in a single line, in order to present a front equal to that of the enemy. But his prudence and valor made him a match for the foe, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers. No sooner had he given the signal, than he threw himself into the thickest of the battle, being always fore-

most in the most dangerous places, with so little regard for his own safety, that his principal officers thought themselves bound to complain of it after the victory, and to entreat him, with tears in their eyes, not to expose his life so much in future.

The battle having commenced late in the evening, lasted until the night was far spent. Ruricius was killed upon the spot; his army was destroyed or dispersed; and the besieged city, having no longer any hope, submitted to the conqueror. The neighboring towns followed the example, and the whole country, as far as Rome, was opened to Constantine, who soon appeared at the head of his victorious army, in sight of that Capital.

Maxentius, who had hitherto remained in Rome, was at last prevailed upon to put himself at the head of his legions. He accordingly marched out of the city, and arranged his army along the Tiber. Constantine, on his side, when he drew near the enemy, arranged his troops as advantageously as possible; he displayed his usual skill as a soldier and a general, and was so well seconded by his officers and soldiers, that the numerous troops of Maxentius were broken almost at the first onset. Such as resisted were cut to pieces; the rest endeavored to cross the Tiber, either over a bridge or by swimming; but the bridge being broken by some accident, or by the weight and multitude of the fugitives, most of them were drowned, and Maxentius also perished. This happened on the twenty-eighth October (A. D. 312).

On the following day Constantine made his solemn entry into Rome, where he was received with universal applause and exultation, as the deliverer of the empire. As a lasting monument of these great events, a magnificent triumphal arch was built at the foot of mount Palatine, near the amphitheatre of Vespasian. The arch exists at this day. A statue was also erected in his honor in one of the public places of the city, representing him with a cross in his hand, and bearing the following inscription, a

token of his religious gratitude: "By this salutary sign, the true mark of courage, I have delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrants, and restored the senate and the people of Rome to their ancient splendor."

Constantine made no other use of the power which he had acquired by his victory, than to disband the prætorians, whom he reduced to the rank of common soldiers, and to destroy their camp, which had been so frequently, since the reign of Tiberius, the seat of disorder and rebellion. He made no innovation in the government, magistracy or offices, and abrogated no laws, except such as were useless or unjust, v. g. those against the Christians, which he expressly annulled by a solemn edict. Nay more, he himself began from that time to make an open profession of Christianity, and to build splendid churches in honor of the true God by whom he had been so visibly protected. Hence, the same year 312, which beheld the triumph and conversion of Constantine, beheld also the complete triumph of the Christian Religion over her enemies, and may be considered as the real epoch of the downfall of idolatry, which, without being persecuted, tottered to its fall, as soon as it was left to its natural weakness.

Towards the time when Rome and Italy were delivered from the tyranny of Maxentius, Asia was likewise rescued from her tyrant Maximin II, one of the two Cæsars formerly appointed by Galerius, and, like him, one of the most cruel persecutors of the Church of Christ. Blinded by his ambition, he invaded the provinces of Licinius, but was conquered, near Byzantium, by a much smaller army than his own. The conquerors pursued him as far as Tarsus in Cilicia, where seeing himself almost in the hands of his enemy, he tried to shorten his life by poison. The poison instead of producing immediate effect, brought on a dreadful disease. He was inwardly burnt, with excruciating tortures. In the excess of his pains, he rolled on the ground, and roaring in a frightful manner, dashed

his head against the walls with such violence, that his eyes started from their sockets, a visible punishment of the cruelty with which he had caused the eyes of numbers of Christians to be put out, during the persecution. He expired, after several days of intolerable sufferings, in rage and despair.

By his death, Licinius remained sole sovereign in the East. But Licinius himself, although a skilful general, was a cruel and worthless prince, an enemy to men of learning, and, in his heart, a foe to religion, though to please Constantine, he at first joined with him in publishing edicts in favor of the Christians. Believing himself injured by the proposal of his colleague for a new and more adequate division of the empire, he raised armies to oppose the armies of Constantine. The two emperors, each at the head of his troops, met near Cibalis in Pannonia, where they commenced a sharp and well contested battle. It lasted from morning till night; when at length Constantine's right wing began to obtain a decided advantage, which led in a short time to a complete victory. Licinius finding himself totally defeated, fled to Syrmium, and thence to Adrianople in Thrace, where he hastened to raise new forces, in order to stop the progress of his enemy. Accordingly, another battle was fought near a place named Mardia. Here neither of the parties could claim the victory, nor could either of them be said to have been vanquished, though Licinius suffered more than his adversary;* but their nearly equal losses facilitated an accommodation. Constantine, on account of his previous success and greater actual resources, dictated the terms of the treaty, and obtained a considerable increase of his dominions (A. D. 314).

This treaty, though greatly disadvantageous to Licinius, was not, like most treaties of the same kind, of short

* This was, during the long reign of Constantine, the only battle in which he was not completely victorious.

duration. It lasted eight years, during which the empire was enabled to recover from the continual shocks and convulsions which it had suffered ever since the death of Constantius-Chlorus. But, in the year 323, hostilities were again provoked by Licinius. Constantine, ever quick and active, immediately entered his enemy's territory, and went in search of him, with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. The troops of Licinius amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry. He had moreover a powerful fleet consisting of three hundred and fifty galleys, to which Constantine could oppose only two hundred galleys, under the command of his son Crispus.

The two land armies came in sight of each other near Adrianople, but were still separated by the river Hebra. Licinius, being advantageously posted upon an eminence, kept himself on the defensive. Constantine earnestly desired to attack him, and as the river was an obstacle, his warlike ardor, which could not bear a state of inactivity, made him contrive a stratagem to surprise the enemy. He ordered a quantity of wood to be cut, and cables to be prepared, as if he intended to throw a bridge over the Hebra, and whilst the men of Licinius were trying to impede the progress of this work, Constantine, with a small detachment, went higher up the river, to a place where he knew it to be fordable, and crossing it at the head of some horsemen, was soon after followed by his whole army. Licinius, thus unexpectedly attacked, and unable to retreat, was forced to fight. A great part of his troops made but little resistance. They were disconcerted by the success of the enemy in passing the river, whilst the troops of Constantine were elated with the hope of victory. The event justified the fears of one party, and the expectations of the other. The army of Licinius was completely defeated, and his camp forced and taken; he himself fled with all possible speed to

Byzantium, leaving thirty-three thousand of his men on the field of battle, the rest having scattered themselves through the neighboring woods and mountains. During the following days, all these vanquished fugitives surrendered, and were kindly received.

Constantine pursued Licinius, and blocked him up by land in Byzantium. In the meanwhile, two naval battles were fought on the narrow seas between Europe and Asia, in both of which Crispus, though much inferior in forces, so well availed himself first of the narrowness of the strait, and then of a strong and favorable wind, that the enemy's fleet was almost entirely destroyed. This enabled the victorious fleet of Constantine to advance towards Byzantium and to blockade it by sea, as it was already besieged by land. Licinius, aware of the imminent danger that threatened him, fled to Chalcedon on the opposite shore, not despairing of being still able to raise a sufficient force to try his fortune again.

He was thus far successful in his plan; for we find him at the head of one hundred and thirty thousand men, when his adversary, likewise crossing the strait, overtook him on the other side. The armies engaged near Chrysopolis, a suburb of Chalcedon; and Licinius, in spite of all his efforts, experienced a new and signal overthrow. One hundred thousand of his men were either killed or taken prisoners, the rest dispersed, and he himself, seeing his party entirely ruined, consented to surrender (A. D. 323). He obtained leave to retire to Thessalonica, but shortly after was put to death, with his son and his chief general, either because he meditated new disturbance, or for other political reasons on the part of Constantine, who does not seem in this transaction to have sufficiently consulted the natural generosity of his heart.

The other partisans of Licinius received much better treatment from the conqueror, being left by him in full possession of their estates and dignities. This clemency, not less than the perfect ability with which he had con-

ducted the war, subdued to his power all the provinces of the East, and he was now acknowledged, without further obstacle, in the whole empire. Being thus free from the occupations and tumult of warfare, he applied himself to repair the evils of past disturbances by the advantages of a profound and lasting peace. He enacted a variety of excellent laws, some in favor of poor laborers, children, orphans, widows, prisoners and slaves; others against iniquitous judges, magistrates, governors, in a word, all the oppressors of his people. In a law which he published to all the subjects of the empire, he thus expressed himself: "If any one, of what rank and condition soever he may be, is confident that he can plainly and maifestly prove any injustice done to him by those who exercise authority in my name, let him apply to me personally; I will myself hear him; I will take cognizance of his cause; and if I find his allegations true, I will severely punish the man who shall have deceived me by a false appearance of integrity. So may the Almighty always favor and protect me, and keep the republic safe and flourishing."

Such were the admirable views of Constantine with regard to the civil administration. He likewise applied himself with great care to maintain good order among the troops, and his zeal was crowned with success. It is remarkable that in the great number of civil wars in which he was engaged, no sedition, no revolt happened in his armies. He owed the tranquillity which he enjoyed in this respect, to his great qualities which commanded the esteem and admiration of his officers and soldiers, and to his behavior towards them, which was properly tempered with indulgence and resolution.

Like all other great princes of every age and country, Constantine loved and patronized letters. He himself cultivated them, and endeavored to procure the same advantage to his sons, Crispus, Constantine, Constantius and Constans, giving them all an education suitable to

their birth and the high rank to which they were destined. Besides choosing for them excellent masters in every department of literature, he himself was their first master, instructing them in Christian piety, in the science of government, and in military exercises. He taught them early the necessity and the pleasure of doing good, by employing their tender hands, as soon as they could write, in signing gratuities and rewards.

This great and good prince was particularly solicitous to make Christianity flourish. Nothing afforded him more pleasure than to learn its progress every where, and he himself contributed towards its advancement by his exhortation and example. Whilst he gloried in openly professing that holy religion, he invited, by an edict, all his subjects, without however forcing any one, to renounce their old superstitions, and embrace the true faith which Almighty God had manifested to the whole world in so signal a manner. The zealous emperor endeavored also by letters to inspire Sapor II, king of Persia, with favorable dispositions towards the Christians of his kingdom. Not being able to succeed in this, he granted a safe and honorable retreat to those who were compelled to fly from the persecution raging in their country. In fine, it was through his protection that the first General Council of the Church was convened and celebrated at Nice, in Bithynia (A. D. 325). In this venerable assembly, three hundred and eighteen bishops, together with the legates of Pope St. Sylvester, condemned the Arian heresy with its author Arius, who, contrary to the Scriptures and to the belief of preceding ages, denied the divinity of Christ.

Until about that time, Constantine had reigned with such wisdom and happiness as to have rendered himself equal, perhaps superior, to the most accomplished and celebrated princes. But in the last twelve years of his life, he tarnished in some degree the great glory which he had previously acquired. An excessive goodness made

him leave unpunished the bad practices of many among the magistrates and other public officers; this negligence gave rise to a greater number of vexations and miseries among the people. He also too easily gave credit to crafty and hypocritical persons, who abused his confidence, and induced him to banish, or exclude from favor, some of the most worthy men of the empire. His greatest fault was towards his own son Crispus, a young prince of uncommon merit; the emperor was so far deceived by an artful calumny, as to believe him guilty of an atrocious design, and, in the first moment of his indignation, caused him to be put to death. He soon perceived the calumny, and severely punished its authors; too late however for the unfortunate Crispus, whose hasty execution he could but bitterly lament.

Constantine is likewise reproached with some faults in his government and political views, chiefly with having disunited the empire by the foundation of a second Capital. How far this can be just matter of reproach, it is difficult to determine: the emperor's intention seems to have been pure, and worthy of a Christian prince. Wishing to make his residence in a place entirely purged from the remains of idolatry, and being exceedingly pleased with the situation of Byzantium, in Thrace, he built on that spot a magnificent city, called from his name Constantinople, and from that time established in it the principal seat of the empire (A. D. 330).

The faults of Constantine, though real stains on his memory, must not however destroy the esteem and admiration due to his eminent qualities. Activity, application to affairs, piety and benevolence always shone conspicuous in him.* His alms to the poor and to all

* Pagan writers themselves bear testimony to the virtues of Constantine. Libanius asserts (orat. 3d) that he was always engaged in contriving or executing some great design for the public utility. Eutropius, in his Roman. hist. lib. x. writes of him thus: "Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus; innumeræ in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt." The same, in substance,

persons in distress, were immense; his inclination to forgive injuries, wonderful. In a sedition which happened in Egypt, probably at Alexandria, the mutinous populace insulted the statues of the emperor. The courtiers, in order to aggravate the crime of the seditious, represented that their rage had gone so far as to throw stones at the face of their prince, which still bore the marks of so foul an outrage. Upon this, Constantine, with a smile, put his hands to his face, and mildly answered: "I do not feel any hurt," thus refuting the exaggerated charge of the courtiers, and reducing them to silence by a magnanimous reply which will never be forgotten by posterity. The emperor acted consistently with his principles. Pitying the frenzy of those who had been guilty of such disrespect, he contented himself with taking proper measures to prevent the like disorders in future.

This indulgence and goodness of Constantine for his people, gained him the affection of all; whilst his greatness and glory attracted the respect, not only of the Romans, but even of all the barbarous nations around the empire. His palace was crowded with ambassadors from the Germans, the Goths, the Sarmatians, the Persians, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and other distant nations, as different from each other in their features and complexion, as in their dress and ornaments, but all filled with sentiments of deep veneration for the emperor. According to the difference of their countries and climes, they brought him a great variety of presents; such as crowns of gold, diadems enriched with precious stones, arms of a particular kind, animals unknown in Europe, etc. Constantine graciously received their presents, and in return

is said by Praxagoras, Aurelius Victor, and others, whose testimonies, not being liable to any charge of party prepossession, are by far preferable to the invectives of the angry Zozimus and of Julian the Apostate, both of them the worthy predecessors of our modern infidels, in their hatred against a prince who was the constant protector of Christianity.

made them others of much greater value. Many of these foreigners were so much struck at the splendor of his court, so delighted with his noble and affable behavior, and conceived such esteem for his virtue, in proportion as they became better acquainted with him, that, forgetting their own country, they attached themselves to the service of so great and so excellent a prince.

The glory of his arms contributed to crown the splendor of his latter years. He had already, during the interval of his wars against Licinius, defeated the Goths and the Sarmatians in many battles. But that first lesson not having sufficiently subdued their restless spirit, upon their renewing the hostilities in the year 332, he again so signally defeated those fierce nations, that they were obliged to sue for peace, and to give hostages. In fine, he showed the same resolution against the Persians who had lately attacked Mesopotamia: though much advanced in age, he prepared to march against them, and the mere terror of his name made them retire beyond the Tigris.

Shortly after, Constantine fell dangerously ill, and having prepared himself for death by an increase of piety, departed this life, on the 22d of May, 337, at the age of nearly sixty-four, after a glorious reign of thirty-one years, the longest since that of Augustus. The splendor of his military, political and religious achievements gained him the surname of Great which posterity has confirmed. No grief was ever more universal, more sincere and more strongly expressed, than that occasioned by his death. No sooner was it made known, than his guards rent their garments, and in the excess of their sorrow, struck their heads and fell to the ground, calling him with lamentable sobs and cries their beloved master, sovereign, and father. The tribunes, the centurions, and the soldiers seemed unwilling to survive a prince, whose liberality they had constantly experienced, whose heroic valor they so frequently admired on the field of

battle. The inhabitants of Nicomedia ran confusedly through the streets, sighing and weeping; it seemed as if each family had lost the best of parents. In a word, all the empire, and Rome itself, which he had left for another residence, were plunged in the deepest affliction; and so dear to all was the memory of their deceased sovereign, that both the people of this Capital, and the many legions scattered through the provinces, unanimously resolved, without the possibility of common deliberation, to acknowledge none as emperors, except the sons of Constantine.

CONSTANTIUS AND HIS BROTHERS CONSTANTINE II. AND CONSTANS.—A. D. 337—361.

The three brothers divided the empire among them. Gaul, Britain and Spain were allotted to Constantine, who was the eldest; Italy, Illyria and Africa, to Constans, who was the youngest; and the provinces of the East, to Constantius. It might seem that every thing had been settled to their common satisfaction; however, Constantine remained only a short time contented with his department. After several useless complaints, he endeavored to encroach upon the territories of Constans, but perished in the attempt, being slain in ambuscade near Aquileia (A. D. 340). Constans then seized the estates of the vanquished, and added them to his own.

Constantius took no share in the quarrels of his brothers. Being moderate and humane by nature, but weak, suspicious, jealous, even cruel through ambition,* and always surrounded by evil counsellors, who knew how to conceal their wickedness under the mask of vir-

* He is commonly thought to have connived at the murder of his uncles and nearly all his cousins, which, under pretence of zeal, was perpetrated by the soldiers in the beginning of his reign. His brothers, on the contrary, do not appear to have in any way participated in the odious and cruel deed, nor was it ever laid to their charge.

tue, he made it his chief occupation to disturb the church in favor of the Arians, and obstinately to persecute the great St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, and the other defenders of the Nicene faith. However, he was also engaged, for many years, in opposing the repeated attacks of the Persians, and this he did with very little ability and success; yet, the enemy did not gain any decisive advantage, and having three times assaulted the city of Nisibis, was as many times repelled with considerable loss.

Another revolution in the West soon attracted the attention of Constantius. His brother Constans fell a victim to a conspiracy artfully contrived by a certain Magnentius, who commanded some troops in Gaul, and pretended to reign in his place. At the first news of this disastrous event, Constantius hastened from the East to punish the usurper, who, on his side, had made extensive preparations to repel the attack. The famous battle of Mursa, which cost the lives of sixty thousand men, decided the contest in favor of Constantius. After most tremendous exertions made by both parties, the troops of Maxentius were completely routed, and either destroyed by the cavalry of Constantius, or precipitated into the river Drave. In this distress, Magnentius, seeing himself on the point of falling into the hands of the enemy, cast off the imperial insignia, took the horse and garments of a common soldier, and fled in full speed across the Alps, until he arrived at Aquileia. After a short stay there, he retired to Lyons in Gaul, where he tried the chance of another battle, but was again defeated. At length, finding himself abandoned by his own troops, he put his family to the sword, and then killed himself, after an usurped reign of three years (A. D. 353).

Thus all the parts of the empire were again united under the same sovereign. But such a burden was too heavy for Constantius, and he himself being sensible how much he stood in need of an assistant, made choice, for

this purpose, of his cousin Julian, who had, on account of his tender age, been spared in the massacre of his family. He conferred on him the title of Cæsar, and sent him to defend the frontiers near the Rhine against the inroads of the Germans. After having freed himself from the cares of war, he applied more than ever to his favorite occupation of promoting the cause of Arianism. By his orders, the orthodox bishops were driven from their sees, banished, imprisoned, and compelled by threats and ill-treatment to sign ambiguous formulas which might afterwards be made subservient to a confirmation of the heresy. But neither artifice nor violence could make Arianism prevail in the church, and even in the midst of the storm, the far greater number of pastors as well as faithful always closely adhered to the profession of the true faith, as is attested by St. Athanasius,* Sulpitius-Severus,† and others.

Whilst Constantius disturbed the whole Christian flock, Julian was discharging his duties and fulfilling his perilous commission in Gaul with great success. This prince, who afterwards deserved the surname of *Apostate*, at first displayed only great qualities. His principal care was to re-establish good order in the provinces, and discipline in the armies. Attacked by numerous hordes of Franks and Alemanni, he not only delivered the country from their invasion, but entirely defeated seven of their kings in a great battle near Strasburg, pursued them beyond the Rhine, and subdued them by repeated victories.

The emperor became jealous and alarmed at the increasing glory of the young Cæsar; and, being moreover attacked anew by the Persians, he thought it a proper opportunity to deprive Julian of a considerable portion of his troops. Accordingly, some legions were commanded to depart from Gaul into Asia. This order caused general discontent, both among the soldiers, and the inhabitants

* S. Athan. Epist. ad Jovianum Imper. No. 2.
† Sulp. Sever. hist. sacr. lib. II, passim.

who entreated them not to abandon a country which they had so well defended; at last, the troops revolted, and proclaimed Julian emperor. With real or feigned reluctance, he accepted the title offered him by the soldiers, took the diadem, and not being able to settle his difference with Constantius in a peaceful manner, advanced as far as Sirmium to fight against that prince, who after all had been his benefactor as well as sovereign. Fortunately for his cause, the death of Constantius, which happened just at that time (November 361), delivered him from his perplexing position, and preserved the empire from the horrors of a new civil war.

JULIAN.—A. D. 361—363.

Julian now proceeded without opposition to Constantinople, where he was immediately acknowledged, as well as in all the provinces. The beginning of his reign was remarkable for the ardor and activity with which he affected to redress the abuses of the late government, and it cannot be denied that he greatly improved, in a short time, many parts of the civil and military administration. But in this prince, good was always attended with evil. He aimed at nothing so much as the restoration of the worship of idols, and the destruction of the religion of Christ, which he had already publicly renounced. This twofold object he endeavored to effect by dissimulation and artful measures, more than by open force and violence. Whilst all favors were lavished on a crowd of miserable sophists and magicians by whom he was constantly surrounded, the Christians experienced nothing from him but contempt, vexations and disgrace. On all occasions he loaded them with insult, and openly violated in their regard the most common laws of equity, excluding them from the rights of citizens, and from fair trial in the courts of justice; forbidding them to teach and to

be taught in schools; not admitting any one to offices of trust and authority; continually endeavoring to make apostates; and, notwithstanding his feigned moderation, often giving secret orders to put to death those on whom other means of seduction had produced no effect.

Julian desired above all things to bring the charge of imposture on the predictions of our Savior* and of the prophet Daniel† concerning the entire and irreparable desolation of the Temple of Jerusalem. Nearly three hundred years after it had been destroyed under Vespasian and Titus, he undertook to raise it from its ruins. Although the Jews had no great share in his affection, he invited them, by a flattering letter, to concur in the enterprise; and, uniting effects with promises, he sent a great number of workmen to Jerusalem, ordered his treasurers to furnish money and every thing necessary for the rebuilding of the Temple, and appointed one of his confidential officers, named Alypius, to enforce the execution of his orders.

The news was no sooner spread abroad, than the Jews, elated with joy, flocked from all parts to Jerusalem. Immense quantities of stone, brick, timber and other materials were prepared for the important work. When every thing was in readiness, the workmen began to clear the ground, to dig up the earth, and to remove the old foundations. Jews of all ranks, young and old, women and children, shared in the labor, with so much eagerness, that some made use of silver pickaxes and spades in honor of the undertaking. St. Cyrill, bishop of Jerusalem, beheld these mighty preparations without anxiety. Full of confidence in the divine predictions, he said that the Jews, far from being able to rebuild their temple, would, on the contrary, fully verify the prophecy of Christ, by entirely removing the former foundations which still subsisted, and thus be instrumental in the fulfilment

* In St. Matth. xxiv, 2. † Dan. ix, 27.

of what our Savior had foretold, that of all this splendid Temple there should not be left a stone upon a stone.

The trenches were now open, the new foundations were ready to be laid next morning, and the Jews already began to triumph; when, during the night, a sudden earthquake destroyed the trenches, overturned the adjacent buildings, and buried many workmen under the ruins. At the same time, the prodigious heaps of lime, sand and other materials which had been prepared, were scattered by whirlwinds. This first obstacle astonished the Jews, but did not conquer their obstinacy; and they again set to work, under the direction of Alypius. At this moment, from the bowels of the earth, near the foundation, there burst forth a flaming torrent and balls of fire, which dislodged the stones, melted the iron instruments, burned or scorched the workmen, and afterwards, running through the place and amidst the multitude of spectators, consumed or suffocated the Jews, whom the avenging element singled out with a sort of instinct. This awful prodigy was often repeated, and what showed more and more visibly the supernatural intervention of the divine power, was that the fire reappeared whenever the work was resumed, and ceased only when the attempt was entirely given over.

There is not in all history a fact more certain and incontestable than this, as it happened, to use the words of an illustrious historian,* in the presence of the whole world, and was equally attested by Christians, Jews and Gentiles.† Many among the witnesses of this prodigious event, whether Jews or Heathens, confessed the divinity of Christ, and asked for baptism. The unhappy Julian, on the contrary, still continued blind and hardened in the midst of so much light, and now directed his principal thoughts to another object.

* Lebeau. hist. du Bas. empire, ad ann. 363. vol. III, p. 264.
† See Note D.

He had been, all this while, making preparations for war, in order to avenge the many insults offered to the empire by Sapor, its inveterate enemy. This Sapor is famous among the Persian kings, for his warlike disposition, violence and cruelties, during a reign of seventy years. He had lately overrun that part of Mesopotamia which belonged to the Romans, and destroyed the important city of Amide. Julian resolved, not only to drive him from his frontiers, but also to subdue the whole Persian monarchy, and then, like Alexander the Great, to proceed to the conquest of India.

With this view, he crossed the Euphrates at the head of sixty-five thousand men, and marched through Carræ in Mesopotamia, a spot rendered famous by the defeat of Crassus. He also visited the sepulchre of Gordian III, who had been murdered at the end of a glorious expedition against the same Persians. Thence, the Romans followed the course of the river, taking by storm and firing such cities as offered any resistance. A numerous fleet, loaded with provisions, accompanied the army.

At a short distance from the royal city of Ctesiphon, Julian discovered the vestiges of an ancient canal, which had been dug by the Babylonian kings, to unite the Euphrates and the Tigris, but which was now filled up, and could scarcely be distinguished from the other parts of the plain. The emperor caused it to be cleared, and the fleet following the current of the water, easily passed from the Euphrates into the Tigris. After a short stay, the whole army crossed the Tigris itself, in spite of the numerous bands of Persians, who, from the other side of the river, vigorously opposed the passage, but who, not being able to resist long the impetuous shock of the Roman legions, were completely routed. The success of the day was owing chiefly to the intrepidity, firmness and presence of mind of Julian.

He did not however attempt to besiege Ctesiphon, for fear both of spending too much time in this undertaking,

and of being himself shut up between that town and a formidable army conducted by Sapor, which was daily approaching. He then resolved to follow the Tigris, until he should reach the confines of Armenia; but a specious advice, given him by a Persian deserter whose fidelity he did not suspect, made him again alter his plan. Under the pretence that the fleet would be scarcely able, even with extraordinary exertions, to overcome the rapidity of the current, he gave orders, notwithstanding the objection of the whole army, that the vessels should be set on fire, and then left the banks of the Tigris, the more quickly to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. Nay more, he carried his imprudence so far as to continue for several days in the way which his perfidious guide pointed out to him, even after the treason was detected.

The army first advanced through a rich and fertile country, but soon found itself in the midst of vast plains where every thing had been purposely destroyed and burnt by the Persians. The troops of Sapor then appeared, and, thinking the occasion proper for battle, attacked the Romans. The latter indeed remained victorious, but they had now to struggle in their camp against much more dreadful enemies, namely, scarcity of provisions and famine. The dangers of the march increased every day; and, to complete their misfortune, they lost just at that time the man who alone could have saved them without dishonor, and have repaired his own imprudence by the natural resources of his genius. In another battle, fought on the twenty-sixth of June (363), Julian, having exposed himself without a cuirass, had his liver pierced with a dart thrown by an unknown hand. He was carried back to his tent almost senseless, and, notwithstanding the cares of his physicians, expired the following night, at the age of thirty-one, after a reign of nearly two years. According to some, he died with great apparent composure and tranquillity; but others*

* Theodoret, Sozomen, etc.

relate that, when he felt himself mortally wounded, he threw a handful of his blood towards heaven, uttering these blasphemous words against Christ: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean;" and that he likewise upbraided his own gods, charging them with ingratitude in his regard.

It would be impossible to give a precise outline of Julian's character. It was a most singular compound of good and bad qualities, moderation and malice, love of justice and blind hatred, prudence and temerity; he united a cultivated genius with a bigoted mind; he was a slave to vanity and credulity; superstitiously attached to the meanest, and perhaps also, to the most abominable practices of idolatry; for we are told by some grave authors* that, besides an incredible multitude of animals, he likewise sacrificed human victims, for the purpose of discovering future events by an examination of their palpitating entrails. In a word, his defects were real, his virtues more apparent than sincere, his talents more brilliant than solid.

The only genuine qualities perhaps that Julian possessed, were his intrepidity in war, and the talent he had to transform his soldiers into heroes. King Sapor did not cease to tremble for the safety of his crown, till he was informed of the emperor's death. He manifested the greatest joy, on receiving the glad tidings, and wished to reward the soldier by whom Julian had been wounded; but no one presented himself to receive the recompense.

JOVIAN.—A. D. 363—364.

Most distressing was the situation in which the Romans now found themselves, in the midst of an hostile country, without food and deprived of their leader. The chief officers assembled to appoint a successor to Julian,

* Especially Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. III, c. 21.

and, upon the refusal of Sallust, prefect of the East, Jovian, one of the commanders in the imperial guard, was proclaimed emperor. After a slow and painful march of several days, he concluded with the Persians a treaty of peace, a step deemed necessary to save the army from starvation, but disgraceful to the empire, which lost, by this means, five provinces and the best towns of Mesopotamia. Such was the result of Julian's imprudence and temerity.

Although the Romans, in their retreat, were no longer interrupted by the enemy, still they encountered many dangers, especially when they undertook to recross the Tigris, and their march continued difficult and harassing, until they reached their own territory. Jovian, on his arrival at Antioch, immediately turned his attention to the government of the state, and the restoration of peace to the church. He had, even during the storms of the two preceding reigns, preserved his faith, and anxious to maintain it in others, he carefully applied to heal the wounds inflicted by Julian on Christianity in general, and by Constantius on the Catholics. His excellent intentions and many good qualities, though less dazzling than those of Julian, promised a prosperous reign; but, having set out from Antioch in the dead of winter, he was found lifeless in his room on the seventeenth of February (364), before he could reach Constantinople. The cause of his death was never ascertained; but the most common opinion is that he inhaled the fumes of charcoal. Jovian had lived thirty-three years, and reigned eight months.

VALENTINIAN AND VALENS.—A. D. 364—378.

The army set about a new election, and proclaimed Valentinian, an officer of distinguished merit. His noble size and features, gave him a warlike and majestic appearance; he was renowned for prudence, valor, learning,

sincere attachment to religion and great love of justice. Pure in his morals, grave in his deportment, he spoke little, but always with great judgment and natural eloquence. Unhappily, these truly valuable qualities of body and mind were tarnished in him by some notable defects, such as violence of temper and excessive severity, whence finally arose the painful accident which terminated his life.

Valentinian had no sooner assumed the purple, than he associated to himself his brother Valens in the government of the empire. Still, before publicly declaring his intentions, he consulted his chief officers on the subject. All remained silent, except one, who was generous enough to say: "Prince, if you love your family, you may choose your brother; if you love the state, select the fittest man for so great a dignity." This advice struck the emperor; however, he persisted in his design, and declared Valens his colleague. He allotted to him the provinces of Asia, with Egypt and Thrace, and kept for himself the other provinces situated in Africa and Europe.

Valentinian governed his portion of the empire with vigor and firmness. Making his residence, sometimes in Milan, sometimes in Triers, Paris or Rheims, he was always ready to defend the frontiers, and to repel the attacks of the barbarians posted beyond the Rhine and the Danube. He kept in constant awe the restless tribes of Germany, and triumphed over them in every battle.

But, whilst his bravery and military science struck terror into the minds of the barbarians, his irascible humor was almost equally dreaded by his own subjects, till in the end it proved fatal to himself. The Quadi, a poor and timid nation, having incurred his displeasure, sent ambassadors to appease his anger by an humble apology. Valentinian was offended at the mean appearance of the ambassadors, and exclaimed that it was a shame for the empire and the emperor, that he had to treat with such ill-looking people. He spoke with such

warmth and passion, that he broke a large blood-vessel, and fell senseless to the ground, his blood gushing forth abundantly from his mouth. A few hours after, he expired in great pain, at the age of fifty-four, after a reign of nearly twelve years (A. D. 375), leaving his sceptre to his sons Gratian and Valentinian II.

The East was still under the sway of his brother Valens, a prince of good morals and steadfast in his friendship; but at the same time indolent, without genius and experience, often suffering his ministers to make a tyrannical use of his authority. He showed no energy except in protecting the Arians and cruelly persecuting the Catholics; the faith of the latter was defended by the illustrious doctors St. Gregory Nazianzen and his intimate friend St. Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, against whom all the emperor's efforts proved fruitless.

With regard to military achievements, Valens, by the skill of his generals and the bravery of his troops, conducted, with considerable success, several campaigns against the Goths, the Persians, and the usurper Procopius, who, after many vicissitudes of fortune, was betrayed by his own friends, delivered up to the emperor, and beheaded. But the last expedition of this prince had, through his own fault, a quite different result. Numerous bodies of Huns, a barbarous people from the north of Asia, were at that time driving before them all the tribes whom they met in their devastating course. Two hundred thousand Goths, finding themselves more and more harassed by those formidable enemies, asked and obtained of Valens leave to cross the Danube, and to settle in Thrace as subjects or allies. They were followed by other bodies of their countrymen whom it was not possible to keep afar off on the other side of the river; and the Roman officers stationed on that frontier were at the same time so imprudent and inhuman, as to exasperate by ill-treatment that immense multitude dying with hunger and supplied with arms. They revolted against

their oppressors, and, excited both by distress and the desire of revenge, began to overrun the country and put every thing to fire and sword.

The generals of Valens endeavored, but too late, to stem this torrent. Several bloody battles were fought, but in vain; and the emperor, not satisfied with the result, judged it necessary to repair in person to the field and put himself at the head of his troops. This step served only to increase the danger; for the commander of the Goths, Fritigern, was an able and experienced general; whilst Valens had neither ability nor prudence. Instead of waiting for the arrival of his nephew Gratian, who, after gaining a signal victory over the Germans, hastened to his assistance, the unwary prince, contrary to the advice of his best officers, marched with precipitancy and confusion against the enemy; and, with troops harassed by fatigue, commenced near Adrianople a battle more disastrous, it is believed, than any that the Romans had ever fought from the time of their defeat at Cannæ by Annibal. Here also they experienced a most signal overthrow, and lost nearly their whole army, with an incredible multitude of chief officers, and the emperor himself, whose body could never be found. According to common report, he was wounded, and in that state carried to a hut, which the Goths, not knowing who was in it, set on fire; and Valens perished in the flames. He had reigned about fifteen, and lived nearly fifty years (A. D. 378).

THEODOSIUS I. SURNAMED THE GREAT.—GRATIAN AND VALENTINIAN II.—379—395.

The Roman empire had perhaps never been so much exposed to the danger of total ruin, as immediately after the battle of Adrianople. Though the Goths were unsuccessful in their attacks upon that and some other towns, they, together with the Huns and Alans, continued

with impunity, to plunder, slaughter and destroy in Thrace, Illyria and the neighboring provinces. The Suevi, Alemanni and Franks were at the same time preparing to invade Gaul, and the provinces of Asia were also threatened with new attacks from the Persians. Gratian, upon whom the whole burden of the government devolved by the death of his uncle Valens, was fully aware that he could not by himself repel so many enemies, nor could he as yet derive any assistance from his brother Valentinian, a child seven or eight years of age. Standing in need of more powerful succor, he was generous enough to declare his situation before all the world, and wise enough to choose as his associate the ablest man of the empire, viz: the great Theodosius, with whose name is associated the recollection of every civil, religious and military virtue.

Theodosius was a native of Spain, and son of the celebrated Count Theodosius, who, after having, by his brilliant campaigns under Valentinian I., saved Great Britain and Africa from powerful invaders, had lately perished on a scaffold at Carthage, the victim of an atrocious and artful calumny. Previously to this melancholy transaction, his son had on several occasions, displayed great military talents; but, after the tragical death of his father, he led a retired life in his native country, until Gratian called him back to court, and offered him the purple, which he at first refused through sincere modesty, but afterwards accepted through a pure motive of obedience. It was agreed among them that he should rule over the East, Gratian reserving the West for himself and his young brother Valentinian.

The accession of Theodosius almost instantaneously changed the desperate state of affairs, and gave a salutary check to the inroads of the barbarians. The Goths were the first who experienced the effects of his indignation and invincible bravery. He obliged them either to surrender, or to retire beyond the Danube. The Huns and

the Alans were soon compelled to do the same; the Persians, informed of his rapid exploits, sued for peace; and, in a few years, the name of Theodosius was respected throughout the world.

He availed himself of the tranquillity which followed his victories, to enact several admirable laws conducive alike to the prosperity of the state at large, to the repression of vice and the advancement of good morals among private individuals, to the security of life and property, etc. All his legislation breathes, as it were, an ardent love of the public good, of justice and religion, happily blended with a dignified clemency towards those who might possibly offer him personal insults, by outrageous language against his person, conduct and government. "If such persons," said he in one of his rescripts, "act and speak thus through levity, we should disregard their fault; if their conduct proceeds from blindness and folly, we should pity them; if from ill-will and malice, we should forgive them." His heart was so inclined to benevolence, that, once dismissing several prisoners, he exclaimed: "O that I could restore the dead to life!"

Theodosius endeavored likewise during the whole course of his reign, to promote, by wise and prudent means, the advancement of true piety, and of the orthodox faith which he sincerely professed. Arianism, not being able to obtain the least favor from so religious a prince, rapidly dwindled into insignificance. The Macedonian heresy against the divinity of the Holy Ghost, was solemnly condemned by the Second General Council, held under his patronage at Constantinople (A. D. 381). In fine, the pious efforts of the emperor gave the deadly blow to heathenism, and his zeal, equally mild and firm, judicious and constant, was not satisfied until the public worship of idols disappeared from his dominions.

The example of Theodosius was in most respects faithfully imitated by Gratian, the emperor of the West. This prince, although very young, would perhaps have

become equal to his virtuous colleague in glory and wisdom, had it not been for a single defect, which being disregarded, tarnished the lustre of his excellent qualities, and brought upon him a terrible disaster. Being excessively fond of hunting, the natural consequence was that he paid little attention to the affairs of his court, where discontent began to prevail, at the sight of the honors and benefits conferred upon strangers. Maximus, one of the chief officers in Great Britain, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by some of the soldiers; nor did the defection confine itself to that island, but passing over to the continent, it spread among the legions of Gaul with such rapidity, that in a few weeks Gratian found himself abandoned by nearly all his troops. No other resource was now left him than a precipitate flight; and even that proved insufficient to save him from the hands of his enemies: he was overtaken at Lyons, and cruelly murdered at the age of twenty-four, after a reign of eight years (A. D. 383).

Maximus abstained for a time from pursuing his successful and ambitious career; fixing his residence in Triers, he contented himself with reigning over the provinces which Gratian had governed. Still, he was making slow but powerful preparations to oppress young Valentinian in Italy, as he had done his brother in Gaul; but Valentinian having received timely warning of the designs of his enemy, fled in full speed to Thessalonica, persuaded that he would find a zealous protector in Theodosius. His hopes were not deceived: Theodosius received him with open arms, and marched with him, at the head of his army, against Maximus, who was coming forward to meet them, with more boldness than prudence. One single and short campaign terminated the contest. The numerous troops of the usurper were conquered in two battles, and he himself being taken prisoner in Aquileia, whither he had retired after the second engagement, was led to Theodosius, with his hands tied behind him.

At the sight of his captive, the generous conqueror felt inclined to compassion and forgiveness; but his officers, less indulgent, led Maximus away, and immediately beheaded him. No search was made after his partisans, and Theodosius added to the dominions of Valentinian those of his brother Gratian (A. D. 388).

About the same time, he gave to all future generations a most admirable example of clemency. A great sedition having burst forth in Antioch, the people carried their insolence so far as to break to pieces the statues of the emperor and of his family. Theodosius, justly irritated against an ungrateful city on which he had bestowed many signal favors, sent two commissaries, with orders to punish the leaders of the seditious riot, to deprive Antioch of its privileges, and to degrade that proud Capital of Syria to the low rank of a simple borough.

The arrival of the two commissaries spread terror through the town. The most guilty of the inhabitants were arrested, and put in confinement; however, the sorrowful multitude, together with the clergy, obtained by their supplications and tears, that the punishment should be postponed. The venerable bishop Flavian had already set out for Constantinople, in order to allay, if possible, the indignation of Theodosius. The first time he was introduced before him, he remained at some distance, with his eyes cast down, and observing a mournful silence. The emperor, whose heart was not less afflicted, approached the bishop, and with strong but tender reproaches, expatiated on the ingratitude of his countrymen. Flavian, being then emboldened to speak, acknowledged both the enormity of the crime and the justice of any punishment that might be inflicted on its authors; but he afterwards so eloquently described and extolled the advantages of the forgiveness of injuries, that the emperor, unable any longer to restrain his tears, cried out that he willingly pardoned Antioch, after the example of Christ who had forgiven his very executioners.

The pardon was entire, unreserved, and did honor to the clemency of Theodosius.

Three years after, on a similar occasion, he appeared to forget his own principles. The populace of Thessalonica, in a tumultuous insurrection, stoned their governor to death. Theodosius, who then resided at Milan, was so indignant at this outrage, that he issued a commission or warrant for the soldiery to be let loose on the inhabitants of Thessalonica during three hours; the commission was executed with such fury, that seven thousand persons were put to the sword. No sooner was the holy archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, informed of the awful deed, than he declared to the emperor that he could not admit him into the church, nor to the participation of the sacred mysteries, until he had atoned, by an exemplary penance, for the enormity of the massacre lately committed. Theodosius humbly submitted to the decision of the holy prelate, and remained thus excluded from the church, for eight months, at the end of which time St. Ambrose, moved by his tears and lively repentance, again admitted him, on condition, however, that he would ever after, in order to avoid similar faults, postpone for thirty days the execution even of just sentences of death. Theodosius willingly yielded to the proposal, and, by this docility, left it uncertain which is more worthy of admiration, the firmness of the archbishop or the piety of the emperor.

This prince was scarcely returned to Constantinople, when a fresh and disastrous revolution, caused by the murder of Valentinian II, obliged him to make a new expedition into the West. That young emperor, trained up to virtue by the instructions and examples of Theodosius, knew already how to conduct himself with great wisdom, and gave every day greater hopes of a fortunate and glorious reign. Being told that some suspicions, though ill founded, were entertained concerning his morals, he dismissed without delay the persons whose society might become

dangerous for his virtue. He overcame his excessive relish for the games and shows of the circus, by abolishing the games, and causing the beasts destined for them or for the chase, to be killed on the same day. Although he had found the treasury exhausted, no solicitation of his courtiers could ever induce him to augment the taxes. His conduct obtained respect even from the barbarians, and he was endeavoring by every means in his power to procure abundance and tranquillity to his subjects, when a cruel plot contrived by Arbogastes, the general of his troops, deprived him of the empire and of life, at the age of twenty, after a reign of nine years since the death of Gratian (A. D. 392).

Intense was the affliction of Theodosius, when he learned the melancholy fate of this excellent prince, his brother-in-law, his partner in the empire, and his sincere friend. Justice, humanity and conscience obliging him to avenge his death and punish the murderers, he spent two years in making adequate preparations for this new expedition, which he justly supposed would be difficult and bloody; for Arbogastes had a great reputation for skill in war, and a strong party on his side. Still, being of barbarian extraction, he did not dare assume the imperial sceptre himself, but placed it in the hands of a certain Eugenius, a proud, ambitious man, who had been a secretary of the late emperor, and had taken part in his assassination.

The two armies advanced against each other, the one from Gaul, under the command of the two usurpers, who had the images of the false gods carried before them; the other from Thrace, under the banner of the cross, and commanded by Theodosius in person. They met in the northeast of Italy, at the distance of about thirty miles from Aquileia. Here a general engagement took place, which the importance of the cause, the number and discipline of the troops, the heroic intrepidity of Theodosius, and the desperate courage of Arbogastes, rendered

extremely furious and obstinate. It lasted two days, the first of which, without giving to either party any decisive loss or advantage, beheld a tremendous havoc of the bravest troops of Theodosius. The pious emperor spent the following night in prayer, placing his confidence in God whose cause he supported, more than in all the exertions of his ability and valor. At the dawn of day, he again drew up his army, and, taking his shield and cuirass, marched out with ardor against the enemy.

This was the moment which heaven had chosen, in order to declare visibly in his favor. On a sudden, frightful whirlwinds arose, which directed all their violence against the rebels, broke their ranks, and forced their shields from their hands. Their arrows turned against themselves, whilst those of their opponents received additional force from the wind.* Thus exposed, blinded by the dust, and overpowered by the storm, they either fell on the field of battle, or threw themselves, in their flight, into a neighboring river. Arbogastes, seeing that all was lost, stabbed himself, and died in rage and despair. Eugenius was brought in chains by his own soldiers before Theodosius, who justly condemned him to death ; but the generous conqueror pardoned all the others of their party. The slaughter ceased, and the two armies mingled together, exulting with joy, one for its victory, the other for its defeat, and both looking on their pious emperor as really invincible.

* See Socrates, Eccles. Hist. lib. V, c. 25;—Sozomen, lib. VII, c. 24;—Orosius, lib. VII, c. 3;—Theodoret, lib. v. c. 24; St. Augustine (who had learned the fact in question from the very soldiers of Eugenius, that had been present at the battle), De Civitate Dei, lib. V, c. 26;—in fine, the heathen poet Claudian, who describes the same thus, in his poem on the third consulship of the young emperor Honorius:

> Te propter, gelidis aquilo de monte procellis
> Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela
> Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit hastas.
> O nimiùm dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
> Æolus armatas hiemes ; cui militat æther,
> Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti !

This memorable battle, which was fought on the sixth of September, 394, subjected all the west to Theodosius. He lived but a short time after his glorious triumph over all his enemies. Continual labors and hardships, especially at the head of armies, had exhausted his constitution, and, after lingering for some weeks, he died in the middle of the following January (A. D. 395), at the age of fifty, after a reign of sixteen years. This was the last reign which saw all the parts of the Roman empire united under the sway of the same sovereign. At the solemn service performed, according to custom, for his departed soul, St. Ambrose delivered the funeral oration in presence of the whole army; after which, his body was transferred to Constantinople, and deposited in the Mausoleum of the great Constantine, with whom he shares in the just praises and admiration of posterity.

In fact, every public achievement of this emperor would suffice to illustrate a long reign. He restored the majesty of the empire, made the people under him constantly happy, and conquered all his enemies, who were equally the enemies of the state. He subdued the Goths, drove back the Huns and Sarmatians, kept the Persians in constant awe, overcame two powerful usurpers, checked the Arian and Macedonian heresies, almost completed the destruction of idolatry without shedding a drop of blood, and published a great number of laws so wise and excellent, as to place him far above the wisest legislators of antiquity. Having nothing in view but the happiness of mankind, he commanded, by a formal edict, that, on Easter-day, all persons detained in prison, whose dismission would not endanger the interest and good order of society, should be set at liberty; and it was on this occasion that he added the memorable words already mentioned: "O that I could even raise the dead to life!"

In his countenance and all his deportment Theodosius was dignified, but at the same time, cheerful, mild, courteous and affable. He always kept himself free, not only

from gross vices, but even from those which most easily find admission to the heart, such as ambition and vain glory; he never undertook any war, unless through necessity; and, though eminently skilled and successful in the command of armies, always blamed the proud spirit of Marius, Sylla, and other conquerors, whom he said it should be his constant endeavor to resemble as little as possible. His inclinations were naturally violent, but kept under restraint; or, if he committed any fault, contrary to his usual clemency and weakness, he soon repaired it in a manner which did honor to his character. Hence the Holy Fathers, ecclesiastical authors and councils are unanimous in proposing Theodosius as a model for Christian princes. Pagan writers themselves, with the exception of the furious Zozimus, agree in praising his extraordinary merit and qualifications. Aurelius Victor, in particular, does not hesitate to represent him as an accomplished hero, far superior to Trajan, whose eminent qualities he possessed without any of his vices. The same historian adds that the virtue of Theodosius continually increased with his prosperity and victories; a praise which, to every reflecting mind, must appear the most honorable encomium.

HONORIUS AND ARCADIUS.—A. D. 395—423.

From the death of Theodosius must be dated the final decline of the empire. He had maintained it in its former greatness; he left it in all its glory to his sons Honorius and Arcadius; but he could not transmit to these young princes his consummate prudence, valor and ability. Their pusillanimous disposition and want of energy left them almost constantly exposed to the insults of barbarians and to the ambitious intrigues of their own ministers.

Arcadius, the elder of the two, was emperor of the

East. His reign, which lasted thirteen years, offers nothing remarkable, except the ravages of the Huns in Thrace, and of the Isaurians in Lesser Asia; the power, ambition and miserable death of Rufinus, Eutropius and Gaïnas, who successively supplanted each other at court; and the unjust persecution carried on by jealous enemies against the illustrious St. John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, who died in exile (A. D. 407), after having filled the whole world with the fame of his golden eloquence. Arcadius died one year after him, and was succeeded by his son Theodosius the Younger.

The reign of Honorius in the western part of the empire, was longer and still more disastrous than that of his brother Arcadius. Its various calamities originated chiefly in the vacillating conduct of his prime minister Stilico, who, having raised himself to that high station by important services under Theodosius the Great, listened only to the suggestions of his unbounded ambition, defending or betraying the state, as best suited his own interest. At first, all things were prosperous under him; he destroyed two numerous armies of Goths and other barbarians who had invaded Italy, one conducted by Alaric, whom he obliged to retreat beyond the Alps (402); the other commanded by Radagasius, who lost nearly all his troops and was himself slain near Florence (405).

Soon after this defeat, other hordes of barbarians made a successful irruption into the empire, and crossing the Rhine (406), began to conquer the richest provinces, encouraged, it is believed, by Stilico himself. The design of that ambitious man seems to have been to throw insuperable difficulties in the way of Honorius, in order to undermine his power, if he would not consent to resign his crown. To convince Honorius of the plot contrived by his minister, was no easy task; at length, he opened his eyes, and was so readily seconded by the troops, that the traitor and all his partisans suffered capital punishment, most of them however without the orders of the emperor,

who endeavored, but in vain, to check the fury of the soldiery.

The detection of the intrigues of Stilico did not stop the progress of the barbarians. Whilst the Alemanni on the one side, and the Burgundians on the other, occupied the territories along the Rhine, the Suevi, Alans and Vandals proceeded farther, and during three successive years plundered the different provinces of Gaul, which they laid in ruins and ashes. After this (409), they passed over to Spain, where they settled, the Suevi in the north, the Alans in the west, and the Vandals in the south, the eastern part only being left to the Romans.

But the most formidable of all the enemies of Rome was Alaric, the leader of the Goths. Driven away some years before, he re-entered Italy, with an ardent desire of avenging his defeat. Honorius and his court, whose residence was then at Ravenna near the Adriatic sea, opposed to him only protracted negotiations and ineffectual promises, a mode of defence more calculated to inflame the indignation than to check the progress of the warlike chieftain. Rome was besieged, and after enduring the horrors of a cruel famine, was taken by surprise and treason during the night. The conqueror gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who accordingly spreading themselves through every quarter of the city, soon produced a scene of general desolation; many buildings were fired, and a furious tempest served at the same time, to increase the devastation spread by the barbarians (410).

Thus did Rome lose, in the space of a few hours, that power, splendor and magnificence which had made it, for so many ages, the first city of the world. Numbers of its inhabitants fled in all directions, even to the most distant provinces, carrying every where the news of the great catastrophe of which they were the victims. This event was, even in countries the most remote, a subject of deep grief; and the sight of so many illustrious families now reduced to the utmost distress, excited universal com-

miseration, as St. Augustine and St. Jerome relate.* Still Rome, not having been totally destroyed, continued to subsist, and even repaired in a great measure its losses; but being once debased by the Goths, it became a sort of by-word among other barbarians, and its majesty as Capital of the Roman empire, had departed for ever.

Alaric did not think proper to retain his conquest, but setting out after a few days pursued his march without obstacle towards the southern extremity of Italy. His intention was, to pass over the strait into Sicily, and thence to Africa, where he thought he could obtain a more desirable and permanent settlement; but a violent storm counteracted his measures, and death put an end to all his designs. He was carried off by a violent disease, and left the conduct of the Goths to Ataulphus, his brother-in-law, and the faithful companion of his victorious campaigns. His followers regretted him as the hero of their nation, and the chief author of the great power and influence which they had acquired in western Europe. According to the custom of northern barbarians, of concealing the sepulchres of extraordinary men, they changed for a while the course of a small river near Cozenza, and having dug a deep grave in the bed of the channel, deposited there the body of Alaric with many valuable objects, and afterwards made the waters resume their former course.

The Goths now returned to the north of Italy, and advanced into Gaul, where they had to encounter many obstacles in their endeavors to effect a settlement. At length, they were permitted by the Romans, under certain conditions, to occupy the provinces contiguous to the Pyrenees. For this advantageous treaty the Gothic na-

* St. August. De Civ. Dei. lib. I, c. 33;—St. Jer. Epist. ad Principiam, et lib. III, in Ezech.—They themselves were visited by several of the noble fugitives, and showed, by their conduct on this occasion, that the charity of their hearts was not less than the genius and learning which have raised them to the first rank among the Doctors of the church.

tion was indebted chiefly to the abilities of king Vallia, the third successor of Alaric.

About this time also, the Romans began to lose their influence in Great Britain. Honorius having recalled from that distant province its legionary troops whose presence was necessary to repel dangers nearer home, the whole country remained exposed to the inroads of the Picts and Scots, two tribes inhabiting the north of the island. Some troops, it is true, were again sent to assist the Britons and drive back their foes; but, as these succors were granted only for a time, the restless Picts and Scots renewed their depredations with such success and perseverance for nearly forty years, as to render the country, during that time, as miserable as it had been prosperous under the Romans.

To the close of the career of Honorius many writers trace back the beginning of the French monarchy. According to them, the Franks, a powerful German tribe, crossed the Rhine in the year 420 with Pharamond their king, and wrested the north of Gaul from the Romans. But others believe that their first real settlement upon the Roman territories must be referred only to the year 438 or 440, during the reign of King Clodio. Be this as it may, it is certain that in general the affairs of the empire, during the latter part of the reign of Honorius, wore a more favorable appearance. Several provinces were delivered from the yoke of usurpation and tyranny, and a successful check was given for a time to the progress of the barbarians. The principal author of these happy changes was Constantius, a man of uncommon ability and virtue, which he displayed during ten years, by the prudence with which he directed political operations, and by the glory which he acquired in commanding the armies. As a reward for so many services, Honorius, besides giving him his sister Placidia in marriage, conferred on him the title of Augustus, a title which he did not enjoy more than seven months: he received it in February, and died

in the following September (A. D. 421). Not long after (423), Honorius himself died at the age of thirty-nine, after a reign of twenty-eight years; a prince, not altogether unworthy of esteem, if we consider his beneficent intentions and private virtues, but certainly unfit, from his want of resolution and capacity, to govern the state, especially in the calamitous and disorderly times in which he lived.

VALENTINIAN III, IN THE WEST;—IN THE EAST, THEODOSIUS II, OR THE YOUNGER.—A. D. 424—455.

The late emperor having left no children, his crown was, with some difficulty, transferred to young Valentinian, his nephew, the son of Placidia and Constantius. This young prince received from his mother a religious education, but profited so little by it, that he is more known in history for his effeminate and dissolute life, than for any active share that he took in the important transactions of his reign.

Theodosius the Younger still reigned in the East, as he had done since the death of his father Arcadius. During his childhood, the state was governed first by the prefect Anthemius, a man truly deserving of his high office, which he held six years. This able minister repelled foreign invasions, fortified the frontiers, built new walls around Constantinople, and procured for the empire a profound peace. Afterwards, Theodosius being yet too young and inexperienced, the governing power was intrusted to his sister Pulcheria, who, though but sixteen years old, already evinced extraordinary prudence and a vigor of mind equal to her piety. At home, she preserved good order and tranquillity, and at the same time caused the Roman name to be respected abroad. A new war having become necessary against the Persians, all its operations and various campaigns were so successfully conducted,

that king Varanes V. found himself obliged, after many defeats, to consent to a treaty of peace on the conditions dictated by the court of Constantinople.

Unfortunately, Theodosius did not always act conformably to the views and counsels of his sister, having suffered his mind to be prepossessed against her by the intrigues of crafty and ambitious persons desirous to have a greater share in the government. From that time, the prosperity of the state rapidly declined. Many provinces were laid waste by the barbarians on different sides, and the honor of the empire was trampled under foot by Attila, the fierce king of the Huns, who forced Theodosius to pay him an annual tribute equally onerous and disgraceful. These evils originated in the weakness and indolence of the emperor himself, who, though he possessed the qualifications of a good scholar, and most of the virtues that can be desired in a private man, knew neither how to govern and command, nor how to choose good ministers and generals.

The West, from a variety of causes, continued still to be the theatre of more complicated and calamitous events. There existed, at this time, two men, who did equal honor and mischief to the state, viz., the general Ætius, and Count Boniface, governor of Africa. The former was justly renowned as a commander and a politician, but so high-minded, that he could not brook the idea of any one being his equal in talents and glory. The latter, as brave and skilful perhaps as Ætius himself, surpassed him in moderation and disinterestedness; still he had not fortitude enough to submit patiently to great injustice.

Ætius, whose design was to ruin Boniface, secretly wrote to him under the mask of friendship, to let him know that he was in great danger, the empress Placidia being now so incensed against him, that, in case of his return to court, his death would inevitably follow. On the other hand, the artful impostor persuaded the empress

that Boniface sought to make himself independent in Africa, adding, with great protestations of zeal for her interest, that the only prudent course she could adopt was to recall him without delay, and, should he refuse to obey her order, to treat him as a rebel.

Placidia, not suspecting any treachery, followed this advice without further inquiry. Boniface received a summons to leave Africa; but as he himself entertained strong suspicions of the designs of the court, instead of obeying, he raised troops to oppose those sent against him, and thus, by the very means which he selected to prove his innocence, became really guilty. Not long after, both he and Placidia discovered the imposture of Ætius, but its evil consequences were now irreparable. Boniface had already called to his aid and introduced into Africa the Vandals of Spain, whom he could not afterwards expel when he returned to a sense of his duty. These barbarians, having at their head Genseric, a warlike and sanguinary prince, overran the whole country with the rapidity of a torrent. Those rich and fertile provinces, whose inhabitants had provoked by their corruption and vices the wrath of God, were soon deluged with blood and reduced to ashes. The Vandals established in the midst of these ruins of the Roman power the seat of their own domination, which lasted one hundred and six years (from 428 to 534), when Africa was restored to the empire by the arms of Belisarius.

In the meanwhile, the empress durst not punish the perfidy of Ætius, who was more powerful than herself. All she could do against him was to bestow new dignities and all possible marks of distinction on Count Boniface with whom she was now perfectly reconciled. This was adding fuel to the flame; and, as Ætius considered the increase of authority in his rival as derogatory to his own, the two generals took the field in support of their respective pretensions. In the battle which ensued, Boniface was victorious; but his success cost him his life; he

received a dangerous wound of which he died at the expiration of three months (432).

No longer seeing a rival in his way, Ætius thought of repairing, by glorious services, the disasters which his jealousy had brought upon the state. He, from that time, showed himself an insuperable barrier against all the attacks of foreign enemies, defeated the Goths in the south of Gaul, the Franks in the north, and other barbarians near the frontiers of Germany and Italy. Shortly after these achievements, a new and most furious storm arose from the East, which engaged all his attention and required all the exertions of his courage.

Attila, king of the Huns, and leader of an immense multitude of barbarians gathered from the north of Asia and Europe, intended to ransom and plunder the western, as he had done the eastern provinces of the empire. He advanced towards Gaul with an army of five hundred, or, according to some authors, of seven hundred thousand men, leaving every where such dreadful marks of his passage, that he was justly called, and called himself *the Scourge of God.* His very countenance was terrific: he had an enormous head, small and bright eyes, a flat nose, a swarthy complexion, and appeared, in all his deportment, haughty, fierce and threatening.

In the year 451, this terrible conqueror crossed the Rhine, and penetrated into the heart of Gaul, burning or sacking all the towns in his way. At last, he was stopped before the walls of Orleans by a vigorous and lasting resistance. In the meanwhile, Ætius, who had induced the Visigoths and the Franks to unite with him against the common enemy, was hastening to the relief of the town. He arrived just in time to save it from destruction. The Huns, having broken the gates, were beginning to enter and plunder the city, when Ætius coming from the opposite direction, suddenly appeared, with his army, and immediately charged the barbarians. Their surprise and terror were equal to the suddenness and violence of

the attack. Those who had already lost themselves in the streets, were slain, or compelled to fly, whilst Attila, foaming with rage, endeavored to rally the fugitives without the city. He then began to retreat towards the Rhine; Ætius closely followed him at the head of his troops and allies, and overtook him in the vast plains of Chalons in Champaigne.

Europe had never beheld two armies so numerous as these in presence of one another; the army of Ætius, it is said, was almost equal to that of Attila. The whole plain, as far as the eye could reach, being filled with a countless multitude of battalions bristling with iron and brass, exhibited for some moments a most imposing spectacle, which was soon changed into a frightful scene by the fury of the combatants. The king of the Huns animated his troops by word and example; Ætius displayed that consummate skill and intrepidity, for which he has been surnamed *the last of the Romans.* Like him, his soldiers fought with wonderful courage; still, it appears that the Visigoths won, on that famous day, the prize of valor, and had the principal share in the victory. After having broken and routed the enemy's left wing, they fell with such irresistible fury upon the centre of the Huns, that Attila himself was in great danger. Frightened, for the first time in his life, he abandoned to the Romans and their allies the field of battle strewed with one hundred and eighty thousand, some say, nearly three hundred thousand dead bodies. Horrible indeed must the slaughter have been, since, according to the common report of historians, a little neighboring stream was swelled like a torrent, by the quantity of blood which flowed into its channel.

The battle having finished only at dusk, the confederates were not certain of their advantage till the day following. The joy of the victory which they had gained was damped by the consideration of their own loss, and particularly by the death of king Theodoric, who had

been killed whilst bravely fighting at the head of his Visigoths. His body was found among heaps of the slain, and buried with great honors on the field of battle. Then Ætius dismissed his allies, in the just hope that the Roman militia would now be sufficient to drive the enemy from Gaul; nor was he disappointed: Attila, though still proud and eager for revenge, removed his camp, and retired beyond the Rhine.

No later than the ensuing year (452), this undaunted conqueror reappeared, and revenged himself for the tremendous blow he had received in Gaul, by plundering and laying waste the northern part of Italy. He first laid siege to the important and well fortified city of Aquileia. This celebrated town had, fifty-two years before, repelled the combined efforts of Radagasius and Alaric, and now equally resisted for three months all the attacks of Attila. The Huns were dispirited, and their leader himself began to think of abandoning the siege, when he perceived storks flying with their little ones from the town into the country. Struck at the circumstance, and skilfully turning it to his advantage, he told his soldiers that, without doubt, the precipitate retreat of those birds from Aquileia was an omen of the city's impending ruin. This was enough to revive the courage of the Huns; they renewed the attack with fresh ardor, battered the walls with all their machines, and having made a large breach, rushed into the place with a fury proportioned to the resistance which they had experienced. The garrison and inhabitants were either put to the sword or reduced to slavery, and the town was consigned to the flames.

This conquest enabled the Huns to advance without further obstacle. Ætius, whose forces were now quite inferior to theirs, did not dare oppose the march of the main body of their troops, but contented himself with cutting in pieces the scouts and exploring detachments. Pouring into the fertile plains of Italy, they destroyed all before them with fire and sword, sacked Milan,

destroyed Padua with many other cities, and depopulated entire provinces. The whole country on the left side of the river Po was one continued scene of carnage and devastation. Such of the inhabitants as had time to avoid this destructive storm, retired into the small islands at the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf, where they laid the foundation of the noble city and republic of Venice. The weak emperor Valentinian was on the point of abandoning Italy, and the Romans, in the utmost terror, expected soon to see the barbarians before their gates.

In this general consternation, Pope St. Leo, at the request of the emperor and of the whole city of Rome, went to meet Attila, in hopes of mollifying his rage, and preventing his further progress. Avienus, a man of consular dignity, and Trigetius, who had been prefect of Rome, were deputed to accompany him in this embassy. They found the haughty monarch at Ambuleium near Mantua. Contrary to the general expectation, he received the Pope with great honor, and gave him a favorable audience. St. Leo, on his part, addressed the barbarian with so much energy, eloquence and dignity, that he gained the admiration of all, and especially of Attila, who, on his proposal, concluded a treaty of peace with the empire, on the condition of an annual tribute. The king immediately commanded his army to cease hostilities, and soon after recrossed the Alps, to retire into his own dominions near the Danube. But, on his way home, he was seized with a violent vomiting of blood, of which he died in 453. The Huns, buried him with the same honors and precautions, with which the Goths had buried their King Alaric forty-three years before. As to the vast empire which that extraordinary man had founded, it disappeared with him, in consequence of the civil wars that broke out among his children and vassals.

Ætius did not outlive him more than one year, being destroyed by an intrigue similar to that which he himself

had formerly used against Count Boniface. A charge of conspiracy having been secretly brought against him at court, he was summoned to the palace. He obeyed, and on his arrival, the emperor slew him with a sword. By this crime, the blind and wretched Valentinian deprived his person and crown of the only defender whom he might successfully oppose to his numerous enemies. This truth one of his attendants gave him to understand, when, being asked what he thought of the death of Ætius, he answered that the emperor had cut off his own right hand with the left. A few months after, Valentinian was murdered in the midst of Rome by some discontented officers, the chief of whom was a certain Maximus, who immediately seized upon the imperial throne. That unhappy prince had lived thirty-six, and reigned about thirty years, if he may be said to have reigned, who was almost constantly a slave to the interested will of others as well as to his own passions, which he never controlled.

Notwithstanding his vices and the faults of his government, Valentinian was bitterly regretted by some persons. His widow, Eudoxia, carried her resentment against the murderers so far, as to call the Vandals from Africa to avenge his death. No proposal could be more pleasing to that nation always eager for pillage; they hastened to cross the sea with a numerous fleet, and going up the Tiber, entered Rome before the close of the same year 455. At this time, St. Leo was not able to avert the storm, but he succeeded at least in obtaining from Genseric, though an Arian and a violent persecutor of the Catholics in his own kingdom, that the buildings of the city and the lives of the inhabitants should be spared. Accordingly, the Vandals contented themselves with taking a certain number of prisoners together with the riches of Rome, and returned to Carthage loaded with booty.

MARCIAN.—LEO THE THRACIAN, IN THE EAST.

LAST PERIOD AND FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.—455—476.

Theodosius II. died in the year 450, of a fall from his horse, at the age of fifty, after a reign of forty-two years. No one was better qualified to succeed him than his sister Pulcheria; still, as no woman had ever reigned alone in either empire, she married and proclaimed emperor Marcian, a brave and virtuous officer, who, by his merit, had raised himself from the condition of a common soldier to a conspicuous rank in both the army and the state.

No sooner was he acknowledged emperor, than he began to bring back the empire from that ignominy and dejection to which it had been reduced by the barbarians. When Attila, before setting out for his expedition into Gaul, sent to the court of Constantinople to receive the payment of the annual tribute stipulated by Theodosius II., Marcian answered the deputies that, reserving gold for his friends, he had nothing but iron and steel for his enemies. Towards his subjects he behaved as a true father. Being surrounded by excellent counsellors of his own choice, he devoted with them all his care to restore security and abundance, procure the exact administration of justice, remove unworthy men from public employments, diminish the taxes, check the course of public and private calamities, relieve the poor and distressed, in a word, to bestow benefits on all, as far as prudence and the state of the exchequer permitted.

The object that chiefly engaged Marcian's attention was the cause of the true faith, which demanded his co-operation against various enemies in the East. Of late, a succession of violent storms had been raised against it by two opposite heresies, the Nestorian, which denied the unity of person in Christ, and the Eutychian, which attacked the distinction of his two natures. The former

of these errors, which both strike at the mystery of the Incarnation, had been already condemned by the General Council of Ephesus, held in 431; against the latter, the Council of Chalcedon, the fourth of the General Councils, was, by the authority of Pope St. Leo, and through the care of Marcian, assembled in 451. Besides renewing the condemnation of the Nestorian, it solemnly proscribed the Eutychian doctrines; and such of the abettors of either, as refused to submit, were considered as no longer belonging to the church of Christ; they formed separate societies still extant in Asia.

Marcian was not less distinguished for his domestic virtues than for his public conduct. Nothing appeared in him but sincere piety and modesty, beneficence, disinterestedness, and admirable purity of life. His reign, deservedly, called the golden age of the eastern empire, was, if not the most conspicuous in every respect, at least the most fortunate and irreprehensible. Unfortunately, it did not last more than six years and five months; this excellent emperor died in January 457, at the age of sixty-five.

Leo, the Thracian, who succeeded him, and reigned about seventeen years, also shewed great zeal for religion. He was well fitted for the sovereign power, though not so talented or successful as his predecessor. A powerful fleet which he sent against Genseric, was entirely defeated; but he gained signal victories over the barbarians of the north, and, in general, maintained his dominions in that state of respectability in which they had been left by Marcian. He died in the year 474, and Genseric, that terrible conqueror whom we have often mentioned, followed him to the grave three years later, after having, during half a century, inflicted on the Romans, in every part of their dominions, all the injury in his power.

The western empire was now in the last stage of its existence. After the death of Valentinian III, and of the

usurper Maximus (455), Avitus, a senator of great repute, was acknowledged emperor in their place: still, the greater portion of the authority soon fell into the hands of Ricimer, a general of Suevian extraction, who was equally capable of noble deeds and great crimes; prudent and eloquent, skilful and intrepid, but devoid of true honor, fidelity and gratitude, and guided only by his ambition. He might, at three different times, have assumed the purple; but he preferred to confer it on others, whom he raised, and afterwards destroyed in the most capricious manner.

Within the short space of twenty-one years, no fewer than eight emperors successively appeared and disappeared; viz.

Avitus, whose reign commenced in . . . 455.
Majorien . . . . . 457.
Libius-Severus . . . . . 461.
Anthemius . . . . . 467.
Olybrius . . . . . 472.
Glycerius . . . . . 473.
Julius-Nepos . . . . . 474.
Romulus-Augustulus . . . . . 475.

Some of these emperors were men of great merit, and, in more favorable circumstances, might have reigned with glory. Majorian especially, and nearly the same might be said of Anthemius, was not less commendable for his moral and mental qualities than for his military acquirements; but these two emperors incurred the displeasure of Ricimer by not leaving the government in his hands, and were put to death by that ambitious and cruel minister.

Notwithstanding so many revolutions and enormities, Ricimer vigorously repulsed the various foes who were striving to complete the dismemberment of the empire. Death alone put a stop to his career of crimes and victories (472).

The last emperor of the West, by a singular coincidence, bore the names both of the founder of the city

(Romulus), and of the founder of the Roman empire (Augustus), being called Romulus-Augustus, or Augustulus (on account of his youth). At that time, the Romans, blended with other nations which continually poured into their territory, had no longer any attachment either for the imperial government, or for emperors who could not defend them against their enemies. Odoacer, king of the Heruli, taking advantage of the apathy of the people, easily overthrew a tottering throne, the fall of which was accelerated by its own weakness. He attacked Augustulus in Ravenna, and, having made himself master of the town, deprived him of the purple, though, through compassion for his age, he spared his life, and even granted him an honorable retreat near Naples. The conqueror found no greater difficulty in subduing Pavia, Rome, and all Italy, of which he was proclaimed king (A. D. 476).

Thus was the Roman empire extinguished in the West, twelve hundred and twenty-nine years after the building of Rome, five hundred and seven after the battle of Actium. Its downfall, occasioned by the weakness of many emperors and the despotism of armies, by civil wars and foreign invasions, was scarcely noticed in the world. It disappeared without any violent commotion, like a man full of years, who dies of decrepitude. The eastern empire, being less exposed to foreign attacks, and better defended by its capital and frontiers, subsisted yet for many centuries, during which its history is connected with that of nations of more recent origin; but it never attained the power, splendor and wealth, which had distinguished ancient Rome.

Amidst so many disturbances and revolutions, religion alone fully maintained her influence and dignity. Far from yielding to the violence of the storms which shook the social world to its very centre, she exercised her divine power over the very conquerors of Rome, and, founded upon an immovable rock by the hand of God

himself, triumphed over them, as she had formerly triumphed over her pagan persecutors. Even at this disastrous and turbulent period, she began to tame and civilize those fierce barbarians who before acknowledged no law but that of the sword. Divine Providence seemed to have permitted their irruptions into the Roman provinces for no other view than to destroy, through their means the last remains of idolatry, and effect their own happy conversion to the laws of the Gospel. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the invaded countries were led to understand, in the midst of their suffering, that all was not lost for them, but that they would find a sure refuge in the Church of Christ.

PART III.

FROM THE DOWNFALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE (A. D. 476), TO ITS REVIVAL UNDER CHARLEMAGNE (A. D. 800).

FOUNDATION OF THE PRINCIPAL AND MOST CELEBRATED STATES OF EUROPE.

From the overthrow of the western empire we may date the foundation of the principal states now extant in Europe. The northern tribes by whose multiplied efforts its entire ruin was effected or accelerated, vied with each other in taking speedy possession of its fairest provinces. Having already mentioned the conquests of the Vandals and of the Heruli, we have to speak at present of the still more successful and celebrated establishment of the Anglo-Saxons in Great Britain, of the Visigoths in Spain, of the Franks in Gaul, and of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

Sec. I.—ANGLO-SAXONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

HENGIST.—A. D. 449—488.

Ever since the Roman troops had been totally withdrawn from Great Britain, the Picts and Scots seized every favorable opportunity to renew their inroads. District after district became a scene of devastation, and the misery of the natives increased every day; till, finding themselves destitute of all resource at home, they at length resolved to call in as auxiliaries a body of Anglo-Saxons, who, having sailed from the north of Germany, were then cruising in the channel along the coast in quest of plun-

der. Adventurers like these could not fail to comply with a request which they justly presumed would turn to their own advantage. For six years (449-455) they fought the battles of the natives with great fidelity and success. But having by this time invited great numbers of their countrymen, they excited the jealousy and alarms of the Britons, who refused them an increased supply of provisions.

This was the signal for a war which proved most fatal to the liberty of the natives. The Anglo-Saxons conquered them in many battles, and began to bring under subjection the country which they had just defended against the Scottish invaders. Their first settlement upon the British territory was that of Kent, which the valiant chieftain Hengist gained and secured by a series of bloody victories, from the year 455 to 473, and which, at his death, in 488, he left in a prosperous condition to his son Æsca. The work of conquest was continued after him, and, though the Britons fought with great valor, and sometimes with success, for the independence of their country, their efforts ultimately proved fruitless, and the greater part of the island was subjugated by the Anglo-Saxons, who, changing its name, laws and constitution, established in it seven independent kingdoms, commonly called the Heptarchy.

By this conquest, the whole of the country was replunged into the state of barbarism from which it had been rescued by the Romans. It remained in that state until the close of the sixth century, when its conquerors received the light of the Gospel through the pious zeal of St. Augustine and forty other missionaries sent from Rome by Pope St. Gregory the Great. The natives, as soon as they found resistance useless, fled with their most valuable effects to the hills and forests, to escape from the exterminating sword of the invaders. Multitudes found a secure asylum in the craggy and mountainous districts of the country of Wales, which they afterwards occupied

for many centuries. Others, crossing the ocean, landed on the western extremity of Armorica in Gaul, where they made permanent settlements, and gave to the tract which they inhabited the name of Britain, or Bretagne, which it still retains.

Sec. II.—VISIGOTHS IN SPAIN.

EVARIC.—A. D. 466—484.

The conquests of the Visigoths, or Western Goths, in Spain, were more rapid than those of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. Their king Evaric, taking advantage of the weakness and continual change of the last Roman emperors, sent a powerful army from the south of Gaul to the nearest provinces beyond the Pyrenees. Astonishing was the success of this expedition: the very strongest towns opened their gates, and the natives, defeated in a great battle, abandoned a considerable portion of their country to the enemy. Upon this, Evaric himself arrived at the head of fresh troops; the war was prosecuted with redoubled vigor; nothing could resist his arms, nor impede his progress; and, with the exception of a few northern provinces occupied by the Suevians, the whole peninsula submitted to his power (A. D. 473).

This warlike prince also subdued the portion of Aquitania not yet in his possession, and many other provinces in Gaul. The name of Evaric was now respected abroad: his court, which he established at Bordeaux, beheld ambassadors from all the neighboring nations paying homage to him as to the mightiest monarch of Europe; and this high reputation he enjoyed until his death.

But, besides being a powerful conqueror and the founder of the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain, Evaric wished also to be the legislator of his people. Until then, the Gothic legislation was very limited, consisting of some statutes of their kings, which had little authority among them, and were frequently disregarded in practice.

Evaric made and published a collection of those ancient laws, adding new regulations peculiarly adapted to the time, place and other circumstances. Well aware that on their faithful observance depended his personal safety as well as the prosperity of the state, he carefully enforced their execution, and thus began to accustom the Visigoths to the duties and practices of social life.

Evaric died at Arles in 484, after a glorious reign of eighteen years. His uncommon talent for war and civil administration would have entitled him much more to the praise of posterity, had he not, through ambition, stained his hand with the blood of his brother Theodoric II, and, through sectarian intolerance, treated his Catholic subjects with excessive rigor, he himself being an obstinate Arian. Great however were the benefits which he bestowed on his own people; the conquest of the peninsula, especially, was so much the more fortunate for the Visigoths, as they were on the point of being expelled from their possessions in Gaul by a still greater conqueror, and forced to confine themselves to their newly acquired and more lasting kingdom of Spain.

Sec. III.—FRANKS IN GAUL.

CLOVIS.—A. D. 481—511.

This conqueror was Clovis, king of the Franks, who, for the magnitude and important consequences of his exploits, is justly considered the real founder of the French monarchy. The Franks were not a single nation distinct from all others, but made up of several German tribes who had long before entered into a confederacy for the support of their independence. During the greater part of the fifth century, under four successive kings, they made frequent irruptions into Gaul, and took possession of its northern frontiers; Clovis, more enterprising, undertook, at the early age of twenty years, to bring it entirely under his power.

His first opponent was Syagrius, a brave general, who had formed a small state for himself in the north of Gaul on the ruins of the Roman empire. Clovis attacked him near Soissons (A. D. 486), and gained so complete a victory, that Syagrius, being left almost alone in his party, fled for refuge to the court of Alaric II, king of the Visigoths. Nor could this asylum save him from the hands of his victorious enemy. Clovis compelled Alaric, by threats and terror, to deliver up the unfortunate general whom he put to death, and, by this act of cruel policy, remained in full possession of his territory.

After the lapse of some years, the French king was obliged, in consequence of a sudden invasion of the Alemanni, to carry his arms to the banks of the Rhine. An obstinate battle was fought at Tolbiac, near Cologne, in which the Franks, almost entirely routed in the beginning, remained in the end masters of the field. It was after this unexpected triumph, which Clovis himself attributed to a special protection of the true God whom he had invoked during the contest, that both he and his nation, abandoning the worship of idols, embraced the Catholic faith (A. D. 496).

During the course of the ensuing years, Clovis, always active and fond of conquests, continued to enlarge his empire. Either by force of arms, or by negotiations and treaties, he obliged the Arborici (inhabitants of Belgium) to acknowledge him for their king, subdued Bavaria, and rendered the Burgundians his tributaries. Such an increase of power in the French monarch was a source of uneasiness and alarm for his neighbors, particularly for Alaric, king of the Visigoths. Fearing for his own territory, he raised troops for its defence. Nothing could be more consonant than this with the designs of Clovis, as it afforded him an occasion of declaring open war, and striking at once a signal blow. He marched with his usual rapidity, crossed the river Loire, came up with the army of the Visigoths near Poitiers, and forced them to

engage in a general battle (A. D. 507). After a sanguinary contest, victory declared in favor of Clovis. With his own hand, he struck Alaric dead; the Visigoths then fled with all possible speed, their conquerors pursuing them in every direction. In less than two years, Clovis subdued nearly all their possessions between the Loire and the Pyrenees, including their principal towns, and thus nearly extinguished their domination in Gaul. He would even have carried his advantages farther, had not a considerable body of his troops been defeated, near Arles, by those of Theodoric, king of Italy.

Still, this defeat did not deprive Clovis of the principal fruit of his labors. He preserved his former conquests, and returning to the north of Gaul, or rather France, as we shall henceforth call it, fixed his residence in Paris. The extraordinary reputation he had gained, being now far spread, and causing a great sensation even at the court of Constantinople, the emperor Anastasius sent him the ornaments of the consulship, as a mark of his esteem and alliance. Unfortunately, Clovis did not preserve his glory pure and entire to the end, but sullied it by several acts of cruelty against the princes of his own kindred, whose estates he wished to invade. He died in 511, at the age of forty-five, after a reign of thirty years, leaving his kingdom to be divided among four sons: a mode of succession which was followed after him on different occasions, and became a source of numberless disasters and civil wars.

Although the government of Clovis had been rather military and despotic, it evinced on many points a wise and skilful policy. He did not, barbarian like, expel the natives from the provinces which he subdued, nor deprive them of their liberty and all their property; he only required that the lands of the country should be divided between them and his followers; whence it followed that the two nations, living and dwelling together upon the same soil, were soon blended into one people. He also

published a code of laws, one of which declared women unfit to inherit such estates as had been obtained by arms and conquest, and this gave rise to the fundamental regulation of the national constitution of France, according to which the French crown never devolves to women.*

Sec. IV.—OSTROGOTHS IN ITALY.

THEODORIC THE GREAT.—(A. D. 493—526.)

Clovis, notwithstanding his justly renowned exploits and legislation, was neither the greatest warrior nor the ablest politician of his age, this praise being due rather to Theodoric, king of the eastern Goths or Ostrogoths. This nation, after the dismemberment of Attila's empire, settled first in Pannonia near the Danube, but, being little satisfied with its residence, set out in 489 on an expedition against Italy. Odoacer, who was yet reigning there, did not fail to defend with courage a kingdom which he had now governed, during fourteen years, with great wisdom and glory. Still, victory every where followed the standard of Theodoric. Three battles lost by Odoacer, and the vigor with which the Goths pushed the siege of Ravenna in which he had taken refuge, obliged him to come to an agreement with his conqueror; he was first treated with cordiality; till Theodoric, sacrificing justice and humanity to the cruel policy of the times, perfidiously put to death a prince worthy of a better fate (A. D. 493).

But, if the Gothic monarch had recourse to so odious a means for the acquisition of a new kingdom, he on the other hand took the wisest and most laudable measures to secure its possession. One of the most successful was, to enter into a permanent alliance with the neighboring princes. Some of them he compelled to live at peace with him; others he attached to his family and to himself

* "Le royaume de France ne tombe point en quenouille."—This is the famous *Salic law*, so called from the tribe of the *Salian* Franks, to which Clovis belonged.

by the ties of affinity; with others, in fine, he assumed the tone of parental authority, fully justified by his great wisdom and experience. "You are young," he wrote to them, "and stand in need of good advice. Your ambition and imprudent behavior afflict me, and I cannot see with indifference that you are ruled by your passions." He was guided by these wise counsels himself, taking care not to enlarge his dominions, by rashly exposing the lives of his people or violating the laws of equity. "Let others," said he, "wage war for the sake of destruction and plunder; as for me, my intention is, with the help of God, to conquer my enemies in such a manner, that the vanquished may be sorry for not having been sooner of the number of my subjects."

No sooner did Theodoric see his power firmly established in Italy, than he undertook to civilize his people under the benign influence of its climate. He adopted for that purpose the Roman jurisprudence, which he reduced to one hundred and fifty statutes, well calculated, by the prudent rules and judicious maxims with which they abounded, to promote the public utility. He wished the Italians and the Goths, after a just division of the lands, to consider themselves not only as allies, but even as kinsmen and brothers, being governed upon the same principles and by one who looked upon himself as their common father. The only distinction established between them was, that the carrying of arms and the performance of military duty were reserved to the Goths, civil employments and trades being left to the Romans. During the whole course of his reign, Theodoric proved the impartial benefactor of the two nations, and became equally endeared to both. Though an Arian by birth and education, instead of persecuting the orthodox, like the Vandal kings of Africa, his cotemporaries, he on the contrary favored and protected them; and so firm was his conviction, acquired by experience, of the disinterestedness and charity of the Catholic bishops, that he

usually applied to them for the distribution of his alms to the poor and the exercise of his liberality towards the provinces.

This great prince knew how to gather around him and select for his counsellors persons the most conspicuous for their merit and ability, such as Boetius, Cassiodorus, etc. Boetius was a man of consular dignity, of noble feelings and superior genius, which shine forth in all his writings, especially in his five books *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*. Cassiodorus, who was not less distinguished for his learning and virtue, is proposed chiefly as the model of a zealous, active and disinterested minister of state. After a most laborious life at court, he retired into a pleasant solitude in Calabria, where he devoted the remainder of his days to study, writing, and religious exercises, and died at the age of about one hundred years.

Thus was literature, so long after the Augustan age, still cultivated with great success in Italy; and, whilst the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths, had scarcely begun to learn the principles of civilization, the court of Theodoric was the centre of learning and politeness. His palace was ever open to talents and merit. To him Rome was indebted for the rebuilding of its walls and the preservation of its ancient monuments; Ravenna, Pavia and other cities, were also repaired or embellished. He protected every useful enterprise, revived agriculture and commerce, and gave to social intercourse such security, that neither citizens nor travellers had any thing to fear, either in the towns or in the country.

The empire which Theodoric had founded, and which, by improving every fair occasion, he almost continually enlarged, was very extensive. He reigned over Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Rhetia, Noricum, and some of the finest provinces of France and Spain. But his glory, besides being already impaired by the unjust death of King Odoacer, was, like that of Clovis, much diminished by several subsequent acts of cruelty. Old age and infirm-

ity made him suspicious. He listened to the slanders and false accusations of jealous courtiers against the most respectable men of the state. Cassiodorus resigned his offices, and left the court. Boetius, and Symmachus, his father-in-law, suffered capital punishment, without being convicted of any crime, and the holy Pope John I, was thrown into prison, where he died after a painful confinement of several months.

Remorse for these acts soon assailed Theodoric. His bitter grief for his past cruelty, produced melancholy which accelerated his death. Most historians relate that, being one day at table, when a large fish had been served up, he imagined he saw in the dish the head of Symmachus. He withdrew terrified from the table, went to his bed, and expired, a prey to anguish and remorse, at the age of seventy-four years (A. D. 526). He had however sufficient time to proclaim, with the unanimous consent of those around him, his grand-son Athalaric for his successor, under the regency of Amalasontes, mother of this young prince.

The administration of Theodoric was, during thirty years (from 494 to 524), a model of excellent government in almost every respect. Having previously shown to the world what he could do on the field of battle, he appeared, all that time, a modest conqueror, a wise legislator, and a pacific monarch, who knew, by a happy mixture of severity and mildness, how to keep his victorious soldiers within the bounds of strict discipline, and to gain the hearts of his new subjects. When Belisarius conquered the Goths, he overthrew the statues of that great prince, but spared his sepulchre. It is yet extant in Ravenna, and attracts, by its elevation, the admiration of travellers.

EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

JUSTIN I.—A. D. 518—527.

We must now revert to the eastern empire, which began about this time to make a greater figure in the political world than it had done under its last sovereigns, Basiliscus, Zeno and Anastasius I. After them, Justin, an officer of obscure parentage, but renowned for his valor, was judged worthy of the throne, at the advanced age of sixty-eight (A. D. 518). It is remarkable that this emperor knew neither how to read nor write, and still rendered important services to the state, during the nine years of his reign. Having natural talent and a sound mind which he improved by experience and by asking counsel of other prudent men, he easily perceived the course to be followed in difficult affairs, and always acted with wisdom and equity.

He took particular care, on the one hand, to appoint able ministers and virtuous magistrates, and, on the other, to afford seasonable relief to his people in their calamities and disasters, which were then uncommonly frequent. But a short time before his elevation, a tremendous earthquake had desolated several parts of Illyria. For some days, a chasm immensely deep, about twelve feet wide, and extending to the distance of thirty miles, threw out sparks and flames, and swallowed up trees, rocks and houses. Some years before, a dreadful conflagration had consumed many buildings in Constantinople, among others, that which contained the public library consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand volumes. An invaluable copy of the works of Homer, written in golden letters on the skin of a serpent one hundred and twenty feet long, was lost on this occasion.

Again, in the years 525 and 526, similar accidents desolated or destroyed many cities, especially the great city of Antioch, the capital of Syria. About noon of the

twenty-ninth of May (526), a sudden and violent shaking of the ground overthrew the houses in the western part of the town; and, as the earthquake quickly reached the other quarters, nearly all the buildings fell, at the same moment, with a frightful crash. To this first evil, fire added its ravages. A subterraneous furnace, the usual attendant of earthquakes, ignited the very soil; hot cinders were carried up by whirlwinds, and fell afterwards in the form of a fiery rain, which consumed the wood-work of the houses, whilst another fire, rising from the ground, augmented the conflagration.

So unexpectedly did all those scourges come upon the inhabitants, that few of them could make their escape into the country; and this great city, the most populous of the East, became all at once the common sepulchre of two hundred and fifty thousand persons. Most of them were crushed by the falling of the houses, or consumed by the flames; but others met a fate which almost exceeds belief. Bands of robbers began to commit depredations in the midst of these scenes of death and destruction. Whilst numbers of unfortunate people, covered with bruises and wounds, were running in dismay through the streets or public places, in order to avoid impending ruin, they met murderers, who cruelly deprived them of life and took possession of their fortunes, and who, soon after, were themselves destroyed with their criminal booty.

The deplorable spectacle of a city which barbarous conquerors have just taken by storm, would present but a faint idea of the desolation of Antioch. Some of the inhabitants, however, had the good fortune to escape from the ruins of their houses, under which they were for a time buried. Twenty or thirty days after, persons yet alive were taken from those sepulchres, where they had lived upon the victuals usually kept in families; but a far greater number were found dead. This earthquake, the fifth that Antioch suffered since its foundation, was the

most awful and disastrous. It lasted six days with uninterrupted violence, and during six months was felt at different times; nor was the ground entirely settled till eighteen months after.

The news of this calamitous event pierced the heart of the emperor with grief. He presently despatched virtuous and trusty men, with considerable sums of money, to repair those cities which had suffered most, and rescue their surviving inhabitants from misery and despair. We are told that, in rebuilding Antioch alone, he spent fifty millions of livres (ten or twelve millions of dollars). It was in the course of these occupations, so worthy of a sovereign, that Justin closed his useful career (527). A short time before his death, he associated his nephew Justinian in the imperial power, and, by his demise, left this prince in a condition to raise to its proper height the edifice of glory of which he had laid the first foundation.

GLORIOUS REIGN OF JUSTINIAN—A. D. 527—565.

The reign of Justinian forms an interesting epoch in the history of the Greek empire. The enlarged views of this prince, the union of favorable circumstances, the highly cultivated state of the science of law, and the brilliant successes in different wars, equally contributed to render it glorious.

Justinian, on his elevation to the throne, resolved to reconquer the western provinces which formerly belonged to the Romans, and to improve the civil legislation. This latter design he executed with the assistance of the ablest civilians of his age, particularly the famous and learned questor Tribonian. There already existed, it is true, different collections of laws, published under Adrian, Theodosius II, etc.; but all of them were defective. To become well acquainted with the ancient jurisprudence, it was necessary to peruse two thousand volumes containing

many inaccuracies and obscure passages, and even opposite and contradictory statutes. Justinian undertook to introduce order into that chaos, by comprising in a work of moderate extent, both the general principles of jurisprudence, and the best laws or judiciary sentences that had been promulgated before his time, during the space of thirteen hundred years.

He first ordered a select collection to be made of the imperial statutes, from the beginning of Adrian's reign. By the assiduity of Tribonian and his associates, the work was soon performed, and published under the name of the *New* or JUSTINIAN CODE (A. D. 529). After three years more of immense labor, the DIGEST (DIGESTUM), or PANDECTS (PANDECTA), appeared in fifty books, containing the most equitable ordinances of ancient legislators with the best decisions of lawyers or civilians, under proper divisions and titles. To render the study of these books easier and more useful, some introduction was necessary; this also was made, and four other books, called INSTITUTES, were promulgated, which not only are the key to the Roman jurisprudence, but even contain the fundamental principles of all legislation. Of the different parts of the Justinian compilation, it is the best and most admirable. In fine, the emperor revised his Code, published it again more correctly in 534, and to the ordinances contained in it added a great number of statutes, the collection of which, under the title *Novellæ*, completed what we call the *Roman* or the *Civil Law*.

Such was the origin of that famous body of laws, which, notwithstanding some imperfections, is the most remarkable that human wisdom ever produced. It was gradually adopted in several countries; and it is moreover from that abundant source of social principles, that the states of Europe derive the greater portion or supply the deficiency of their respective Codes.

Whilst Justinian was engaged in this important work, he did not forget the other design he had formed of re-

conquering the western provinces of the empire now occupied by the barbarians. Not to be surrounded with enemies on all sides, he ended a long and undecisive war against the Persians by a solemn treaty of peace, and then directed all his efforts to the conquest of Africa. The Vandals, who were still masters of that country, had very much degenerated from their former courage; and perpetual quarrels among the descendants of Genseric contributed to weaken more and more their political strength. One of these dissensions furnished Justinian with an opportunity to send a fleet and an army to Africa, under the command of Belisarius (A. D. 533).

This general had already, during the preceding Persian war, begun to display that extraordinary skill in the art of commanding armies, which afterwards rendered him equal to the greatest generals of ancient Rome. He sailed from Constantinople with five hundred and ninety-two vessels of all dimensions, and, after a long voyage, landed on the shores of Africa, at some distance from Carthage. His troops amounted to scarcely sixteen thousand men; but they were full of ardor, and the general was himself a host. The Vandals, on the contrary, had numerous troops; but their generals were unskilled in war, and showed more valor than prudence: two of them perished in a first battle; the others, with King Gelimer, were put to flight. This enabled Belisarius to advance through the country without further obstacle. Every where he was received as a deliverer by the ancient inhabitants, especially by those of Carthage. The rigor and barbarism of the Vandals had long since exasperated their minds; whereas the mildness of Justinian's general, and the excellent discipline which he maintained in his army, gained him universal confidence and affection. From Carthage, Belisarius went in pursuit of Gelimer. Having found him stationed at Tricameron, a place twenty miles distant from Carthage, a second battle was fought, in which, with only ten thousand men against one hundred thousand Vandals, he obtained

a glorious victory, remaining master of the whole country, and getting possession of the treasures, and even, in a short time of the person of the king (534).

This prince had fled from the field of battle to the extremity of Numidia, and there shut himself up in a town situated on the summit of a high mountain. Belisarius, whose presence was necessary at Carthage, sent one of his generals, named Pharas, with a part of the army, to invest that place, and, if possible, to take the king prisoner. Accordingly, the town was closely besieged, and, before the expiration of three months, reduced to the last extremity. In the meanwhile, Pharas wrote to Gelimer, and exhorted him to surrender, with a positive assurance that he would be honorably treated by Justinian. The unfortunate prince wept whilst reading the letter, and, in his answer, after expressing his unwillingness to become a captive, requested Pharas to send him a loaf, a sponge and a lute: a loaf, because he had not seen any bread for a long time; a sponge, to wash his wounds; and a lute, to accompany his voice when singing his misfortunes.

Pharas, moved with compassion, granted the request, but still continued, with diligent care, to obstruct all the avenues of the fortress. At length, Gelimer was afraid lest it should be taken by storm, and consented to capitulate. He descended from the mountain, and, on the repeated assurances of an honorable treatment, went with Pharas to Carthage, where he delivered himself into the hands of Belisarius.

Thus was Africa again subjected to the Roman power,* and the kingdom of the Vandals destroyed after a duration of one hundred and six years. Belisarius, having provided, as well as he was able, for the security of his conquest, returned to Constantinople, where he received

* The empire of Constantinople retained for many centuries the name of *Roman* or *Eastern*, though it is also frequently designated by the appellation of *Greek* or *Lower Empire*.

honors proportionate to the greatness of his exploits. He had taken the precaution to make Gelimer embark with him and leave Africa. When this unhappy monarch was solemnly presented to the emperor, in the middle of an immense concourse of people, no sigh, no tear escaped him; but appearing to be plunged in deep reflection on the present state of his fortune, he several times repeated those words of Scripture: *Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity.** Justinian gave him a rich estate in Galatia, where he was permitted to live in quiet with his family.

Scarcely had the African provinces been reunited to the empire, when similar views began to be manifested with respect to Italy. The unjust death inflicted by ungrateful subjects on Queen Amalasontes, who had been a faithful ally to the court of Constantinople, was for the emperor a favorable pretext for attacking the Goths. In the year 535, the conqueror of Africa, Belisarius, unexpectedly appeared in Sicily, at the head of seven thousand five hundred men. With this handful of soldiers that great general knew how to achieve exploits, which others would have found difficult to accomplish with very numerous armies.† After subduing the island, he passed over to the continent, and either by storm or surprise, by force or capitulation, took Naples, Rome, Ravenna, with many other cities, defeated the Goths on several occasions, and finally compelled their King Vitiges to embark, as Gelimer had done, for Constantinople, where the Gothic monarch also received estates and honorable titles from Justinian, as a compensation for the loss of his kingdom (A. D. 540).

* Eccles. i, 2.

† This appeared particularly in the year 537, when Belisarius, after taking Rome, was himself besieged in that city by an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The siege lasted twelve months and nine days, during which the two parties had engaged seventy times, with a great display of valor on each side; but Belisarius, with only the twentieth part of the enemy's forces, defeated all their efforts, and finally obliged them to retire.—Procopius, *De Bello Goth.;* Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas. empire, vol.* IX. *b.* 44, *p.* 395 *to* 473.

Still, the power of the Goths in Italy was not yet entirely overthrown. Notwithstanding the tremendous blow it had just received, it recovered for a time its former strength, and even acquired, after the departure of Belisarius, an astonishing superiority, under the conduct of Totila, whom the Goths chose for their leader (A. D. 541).

Of all the successors of Theodoric the Great, Totila was the only one who perfectly resembled him in prudence, activity, valor, justice and generosity. He conquered the Roman commanders in Italy, as often as he attacked them, and retook Rome in spite of all the exertions made by Belisarius after his return (A. D. 546). This great general, left by the emperor without the necessary supplies of ammunition and troops, saw his former prosperity decline, and resigned the command of the army, leaving to Narses the honor of terminating the war.

Narses was one of those extraordinary men whom Providence prepares, as it were, in secret, for the prosperity or the destruction of states. Though a stranger, of small size and mean appearance, he had risen from a slave, to be one of the first officers in the palace of Justinian. Possessed as he was of a quick and sound judgment, of a profound and extensive genius, his wisdom in contriving the best plans, and his activity in executing them, insured the success of his undertakings. The deficiency of regular studies was abundantly supplied in him by a natural and noble eloquence. He possessed in an eminent degree all the virtues not incompatible with a certain ambition, above all, generosity and beneficence. As for his talents in war, they only wanted an occasion for their display, and without having been a soldier, he all at once appeared a consummate general.

Besides these natural advantages, Narses enjoyed the favor of Justinian, who readily granted him what had been refused to Belisarius, viz: all the troops, money and ammunition requisite to carry on the war with vigor

and success. Being thus well provided in every respect, he had but to appear in Italy, to check the prosperous fortune of the Goths, and the very first battle which he fought, in the plains of Lentagio, entirely turned the scale in favor of the Romans. In vain did Totila make every effort to maintain the superiority which he had acquired; his army was completely defeated, his bravest warriors were killed, and he himself, being forced to fly for the first time in his life, died of his wounds a few hours after the end of the battle. Narses immediately sent to Constantinople the news of his victory, together with the cuirass and the crown of Totila; and Justinian received, in the middle of the senate, these spoils taken from a prince far superior to him in personal merit (A. D. 552).

The Goths, although vanquished, and deeply afflicted at the death of their excellent king, did not lose courage, but hastened to give him a worthy successor in the person of Teias, the bravest of his lieutenants. In this arduous post, Teias answered, as well as could be expected from existing circumstances, the hopes of his nation, and, being unable to save it, strove at least to retard its entire overthrow. He rallied the remains of the Gothic army, and, leaving the open country to the victorious troops of Narses, went to occupy a strong position near mount Vesuvius. The Roman general, at the head of all his forces, pursued him so closely, that the Goths began to suffer considerably from famine. Then, considering the decaying state of their fortune, which was on the point of being utterly lost, these magnanimous and last survivors of a nation formerly so flourishing, looked at their swords, and resolved to fight once more, either to conquer by a last effort, or at least to die with glory.

No sooner had they come to this determination, than, descending from the heights, they rushed with desperate fury against the enemy: but the resistance was not less vigorous than the attack was violent. The Romans were

encouraged by the remembrance of past success, and an implicit confidence in the superior talents of their general; the Goths were animated by despair and by the example of their king, who having taken his post in the first rank, displayed the most heroic courage, and, for the space of four hours, spread among the enemy terror and death. Assailed as he was by a multitude of javelins and arrows, Teias, immovable as a rock, with one hand warded off the weapons, and, with the other, slew as many Romans as came within his reach. At length, unable to bear up his shield, which was pierced with twelve javelins, he asked for another. Whilst he was taking it from the hands of his armor-bearer, and putting off the first, his breast for an instant remained uncovered, and at this very moment, he received a deadly blow. He continued to fight until he became exhausted, and then fell with his face toward the foe.

The Romans cut off the head of this valiant prince, and exposed it, on the top of a pike, to the gaze of both armies, especially to that of the Goths, in order to throw them into consternation and despair. But the courage of those intrepid warriors, instead of being abated by this melancholy event, was rather increased by the desire of avenging the death of Teias. They therefore continued fighting with great heroism, until the darkness of night separated them from the Romans. Both parties spent the night on the field of battle, and, as soon as the dawn appeared, the combat was renewed with the same fury, and maintained with the same obstinacy as the day before; nor could Narses put to flight enemies who were few in number, wounded and fatigued, but, at the same time, buoyed up by their excitement, and making their last desperate effort. Giving up the hope of conquering men to whom liberty was dearer than life, he permitted them to retire unmolested, on condition that they would never more unsheath their swords against the empire. After this, he easily achieved the conquest of Italy, the sieges

of various towns, and some battles less important; all these transactions being for him only occasions of new triumphs (553). The kingdom of the Ostrogoths thus disappeared for ever, after a short duration of sixty years, during which it had produced three heroes worthy of that name, Theodoric, Totila and Teias. The authority of Justinian being now acknowledged throughout Italy, Narses, by his appointment and in his name, governed the country which he had so gloriously subjugated.

Warfare however was not yet entirely at an end, owing to the share which the French took for a long time in these public broils. The successors of Clovis had inherited his warlike spirit, which they all exerted in subduing the little neighboring states: but none among them became as remarkable in this respect, as Theodebertus, king of Austrasia and of a considerable part of Germany. So great was his reputation for ability and valor, that both the Greeks and the Ostrogoths, from the very beginning of their contest, eagerly courted his alliance. He promised it to each nation, but was faithful to neither; his design being to conquer for himself. With this treacherous and interested view, he crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army, attacked both parties successively, defeated them, and would probably have remained sole master of the disputed regions, had not a contagious distemper, which broke out among his soldiers, obliged him to retire with considerable loss (A. D. 539).

After his retreat, though none of those who followed him had perished by the sword of the Romans, Justinian had the ridiculous vanity to assume the title of *Francicus*, or conqueror of the French. Theodebertus, filled with indignation, resolved to avenge the insult, and, by following the course of the Danube, to invade Thrace, and then attack the very capital of the empire. Already great preparations were making for this purpose, and the emperor began to tremble in Constantinople, when Theodebertus died in the flower of his age (A. D. 548), and there was

none after him skilful or bold enough to execute his projects.

It was only towards the end of the Gothic war, that two of his successor's generals, Leutharis and Bucelin, undertook, in their own name, the defence of the Goths, who were now deprived of every other resource. They passed over the Alps into Italy, with seventy-five thousand warriors, French and Germans. This army, like a furious torrent, overran the whole peninsula, from the northern provinces to the southern extremity of Calabria, sweeping away or destroying every thing in its impetuous course. Leutharis then desired to secure his booty, by returning to the north; but was entirely foiled in his design. Being first defeated by the Romans during his march, he had scarcely reached and recrossed the river Po, when a dreadful pestilence carried him off, with nearly all his soldiers, a just punishment for the depredations and cruelties which they had committed.

In the meanwhile, the army of Bucelin was also in a very perplexed condition: Narses, unable, in the opening of the campaign, to stop his progress, succeeded at last in famishing his wearied troops. This induced the German chieftain to engage in a general battle, rather than let all his followers die of sickness and starvation. The two armies met near Capua, on the banks of the little river Casilino, from which the bloody fight took its name. Never was there witnessed greater impetuosity on the one side, nor more valiant resistance on the other; nor was there ever a more striking proof of the superiority of true courage regulated by discipline, over blind and unrestrained bravery. Although the Romans and their auxiliaries found themselves at first in great danger, from the violence of the enemy's attack, the defeat of the French and Germans was so complete, that, out of thirty thousand, only five men escaped, all the others being slain with their general; whereas the conquerors, whose number scarcely amounted to eighteen thousand, did not lose

more than eighty men. All of them had performed prodigies of valor; but the honor of the day was by every one attributed to Narses, whose presence of mind and superior genius had changed into so glorious a triumph, a combat the beginning of which seemed almost desperate for the Romans (554). Shortly after, he cut to pieces another party of French, who were occupying a large portion of the country between the Po and the mountains. So many losses made them abandon the hope of obtaining a footing in Italy.

Whilst the bravest troops and the ablest generals of the empire were thus employed in the West, the Persians had recommenced the war in the East (A. D. 540). During many years, their King Chosroes I, surnamed the Great, spread devastation through the rich provinces of Mesopotamia and Syria, burning or sacking the towns, plundering the country, and routing the armies sent for its defence. He several times returned, after his campaigns, to Persia with an immense booty, or after having forced Justinian to pay him a heavy tribute. Belisarius repaired in some degree the dishonor of the Roman arms; but after his departure, when he went to Italy for the second time, it daily increased under other generals, particularly when thirty thousand Romans were defeated by four thousand Persians, and, on another occasion, fifty thousand by only three thousand.* At length, a signal victory and other advantages gained by the troops of Justinian, permitted him to conclude a truce less disgraceful to the empire (555).

This truce was the more opportune as the state was visited at this period with many other calamities. Earthquakes overthrew many buildings, and pestilence destroyed many of the inhabitants of Constantinople; on the other hand, the Huns made a furious irruption into

* Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas. empire, vol.* x, *p.* 225—228; and *vol.* xi, *p.* 18—22.—Agath. and Procop. *De Bello Persico.*

Thrace, and advanced so far as to threaten the capital. Belisarius was once more, on this occasion, the glorious defender and strongest bulwark of the empire. Though scarcely able, on account of old age, to wield a sword, he marched out with a handful of warriors against the barbarians, and obliged them to retire (559).

In return for so many services, the suspicious emperor, deceived by the slanders of the court, and believing Belisarius privy to a late conspiracy, stripped this great man of all his honors, and condemned him to an ignominious confinement which lasted seven months. It is even said and believed by many that his eyes were put out, and that he was reduced to such misery, as to beg his bread in the streets of Constantinople. But this seems to be a mere tale, quite unknown to contemporary historians, and founded on no better authority than that of John Tzetzes, an injudicious Greek writer of the twelfth century. More ancient authors, as Cedrenus, Theophanes, instead of mentioning any such fact, relate that Belisarius recovered his dignities and the friendship of the emperor.

Both of them died shortly after, and in the same year (565). Justinian was in the eighty-fourth year of his life, and the thirty-ninth of a reign which had been more famous abroad than prosperous at home, especially towards its close. The armies now stood in a miserable condition for want of regular pay, and the provinces were groaning under the pressure of heavy taxes, which served only to enrich covetous courtiers, or were spent in purchasing peace from the barbarians. Moreover, the emperor's munificence often degenerated into prodigality, which, superadded to an inordinate passion for new buildings, one of the incorrigible defects of Justinian, caused immense sums to be expended, which might have been much better employed.

It should also be remarked that, after having amended the Roman legislation, he frequently altered his own

laws, or suffered them to be changed by his courtiers and ministers, in accordance with their interests and passions. The same inconstancy, and a weak condescension for his haughty and wicked wife Theodora, often betrayed him into wrong and unjust measures, so far as to disgrace his ardent zeal for religion, by the violence of his measures, and by his continual attempts to rule and direct the affairs of the church, whilst he neglected those of the empire. Owing to his imprudence, the factions of the circus excited many disturbances, sometimes even bloody seditions in Constantinople, the emperor's blind partiality for one of the parties having increased their mutual animosity, which continued under his successors, and proved one of the greatest calamities of that capital. In a word, although Justinian possessed great talents and many virtues, one might reasonably think, from the general tenor of his government, that he was rather an idle spectator of the splendid transactions that occurred during his reign, and that he really did less good than evil to both church and state.

However, it would be unjust to deny that this emperor had noble views, and formed truly glorious designs. The reformation of jurisprudence, the conquest of Italy and Africa, his endeavors to increase the power and splendor of the empire, were certainly undertakings calculated to confer undying honor on any reign. If he did not himself carry them into execution, his at least was the glory of having contrived the plans, furnished the means, and effected their accomplishment through the instrumentality of talented individuals whose services his good fortune placed at his disposal.

JUSTIN II.—TIBERIUS II.—565—582.

At the death of Justinian, who left no issue, the imperial sceptre passed into the hands of his nephew, Justin II.

This prince commenced his reign with universal applause, having, on the very first day, redressed many grievances, and paid innumerable debts contracted by Justinian in his old age. His subsequent conduct was not, it is true, always marked by the same love of law and justice; still, the emperor displayed it on many other occasions, particularly in the following occurrence, which is well deserving of notice.

In order to check fraud and extortion in the capital, Justin appointed for its prefect a magistrate of renowned integrity, who was not less firm in the discharge of his duty, than upright and virtuous. He invested him with unlimited power to punish, without appeal and without hope of pardon, all criminals, of whatever rank or condition; a just, though severe statute, which frightened all iniquitous men and extortioners, one only excepted, a proud nobleman, who thought himself above the reach of either divine or human law. A complaint was lodged against this man by a poor widow whom he had robbed of all her property. The prefect, through regard for the accused, who was a relation to the emperor, wrote to him, and intrusting the letter to none but the injured widow, begged him to indemnify her for the wrong she had suffered. The only satisfaction she received was affronts and ill treatment.

The prefect, hearing this, was inflamed with indignation, and summoned the offender before his tribunal; but his new orders were equally despised, and answered only with fresh insults and railleries against both the judge and the judgment. Instead of appearing, the haughty nobleman went to the palace, where he was invited to dine, with a great number of courtiers. No sooner did the prefect know that he was at table with the emperor, than he himself entered the dining-room, and said to Justin: "My lord, if you persist in the resolution which you have manifested of punishing oppression and violence, I also shall continue to fulfil your orders. But if you renounce

a design so worthy of you, if the worst of men are honored with your favor, and admitted to your table, receive my resignation of an office which becomes useless to your subjects, and cannot but be displeasing to yourself." To this noble remonstrance Justin answered that he had not changed his mind. "Punish," said he to the prefect, "punish injustice every where; were it even seated with me upon the throne, I would rather descend, to deliver it up to punishment." The virtuous magistrate did not desire more: emboldened by this answer, he presently orders the culprit to be seized in the midst of the guests, and carried before his tribunal. The widow's complaints are heard, and as that man, before so arrogant, and now speechless and trembling, could not urge any thing in his defence, the prefect ordered him to be stripped and beaten with rods, and then to ride upon an ass, with his face turned to the tail, through all the streets of the city; his effects were moreover forfeited for the benefit of the widow. This exemplary chastisement stopped for some time the course of usurpation and extortion. The emperor rewarded the resolute conduct of the prefect by raising him to the rank of a patrician, and confirming him in his charge for the remainder of his life.*

The other qualifications of Justin were not equal to his zeal for the enforcement of the laws and of good order. He was dissolute, indolent, pusillanimous, and, at the same time, haughty to excess towards the ambassadors of foreign nations. This unbecoming pride, which his wife Sophia too faithfully imitated, occasioned bloody wars, and caused great losses to the empire. That princess, having long since harbored a deep hatred against Narses, the conqueror, and at that time, the governor of Italy, sent him a spindle and a distaff, with a scornful letter, telling him that those articles were more suitable for him

* This act of firmness and vigor is by some referred to the reign of Justin I, but more probably belongs to that of Justin II, and to the year 574.—*See* Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas. empire, vol.* XI. *p.* 235, 237.

than the command of armies and the government of provinces: for which reason she ordered him to depart from Italy, and return to Constantinople, to be employed in the palace.

Narses had virtue, firmness and courage, but not to such a degree as patiently to bear so cruel an affront. On the perusal of the letter, his eyes sparkled with wrath, and, in a sarcastic tone: "Go," said he to the messenger, "and tell the empress, that I will cut out for her more work than she desires." He immediately wrote to the nation of the Lombards (so called from their long beards), inviting them to come and invade Italy. He soon repented of his treason, and died with the bitter regret of having by that one act, dishonored a life of ninety-five years, the last portion of which had been ennobled by so many glorious achievements.* But his repentance came too late to prevent the evil consequences of his rash step: the Lombards had already set out under the guidance of their King Alboin (568). They crossed the Alps from the north-east, and meeting with little opposition, subdued all that part of the peninsula which received from them the name of Lombardy. Pavia was the capital of this new kingdom; the invaders did not advance far enough, or in sufficient numbers to take the other chief cities, Rome, Naples, Ravenna, etc. These therefore continued, for nearly two centuries more, under the power of the emperors of Constantinople, Ravenna being chosen, on account of its advantageous situation, to be the residence of the governors whom they appointed under the title of exarchs.

The imprudence of Justin gave rise also to a new war against the Persians, the beginning of which did great

* In this we follow the account commonly given by historians; still it should be observed, in justification of Narses, that several learned critics deny his having yielded to his resentment and made any proposal to the Lombards about the invasion of Italy; which invasion, they say, was undertaken for a variety of other causes.—Lebeau, *vol.* XI, *p.* 179;—*Annales du moyen age, vol.* III, *p.* 188.

injury to the Romans. Whilst the emperor, more ready to threaten than to execute, remained shut up in his palace, Chosroes, ever active and intrepid, unexpectedly appeared on the frontiers at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men, attacked Mesopotamia and Syria, and with little or no opposition, desolated those rich provinces. The intelligence of these disasters threw Justin into a deep melancholy which degenerated into real madness, the paroxysms of which became more and more frequent. Having fortunately retained his senses sufficiently to feel that he was no longer able to govern without a colleague, he made choice of Tiberius, the commander of his guards, a man universally respected for his prudence and virtue, and intrusted to him the reigns of government (A. D. 574).

It would have been difficult to make a better choice; and Chosroes soon perceived, to his cost, that the imperial court was now directed by a more vigorous hand. He saw the career of his triumphs and prosperity checked at the battle of Melitine, a town of Lesser Armenia, where he found himself opposed by one hundred and fifty thousand men, Romans and auxiliaries, whom Tiberius had mustered from the different parts of the empire as well as from the surrounding nations. Notwithstanding the exertions of Chosroes during the contest, most of the Persians were put to the sword, or driven into the Euphrates, where they perished. The dejected monarch fled with all haste to the extremities of Persia, and died in grief and despair, after a memorable reign of forty-eight years.

Whilst Tiberius was thus restoring the honor of the Roman armies, he was not less careful to restore the interior tranquillity of the state. Crimes and extortions were checked by severe laws. The vain magnificence and useless expenses of the imperial court were abolished, and by this wise measure Tiberius enabled himself to support the standing army, diminish the taxes, relieve the

wants of divers provinces, and gain the hearts of his subjects, by conferring on them benefits worthy of a good and great prince. He considered them all as his children, the state as his family, and the sovereign power as a blessing which he must render, as much as possible, common to all, by his equity, kindness and liberality.

Amidst these laudable employments, the death of Justin, in 578, left him sole master. As the empress Sophia, by her counsels and influence, had been instrumental in placing him on the throne, she expected that, as she was now a widow, he would marry her, and thus enable her to preserve the title of empress. But Tiberius was already married, a fact of which she was not aware. On the day of his coronation, he made his virtuous wife, Anastasia, suddenly appear in the sight of the people, and crowned her with his own hands, to the extreme joy of all the spectators except Sophia, whose disappointment can scarcely be imagined. This ambitious princess, in the violence of her resentment, did all in her power to dethrone a sovereign to whose elevation she had so much contributed. Tiberius contented himself with depriving her of the great riches which had been left at her disposal, and in spite of her intrigues, remained in quiet possession of the throne.

He occupied it only four years, and during this short interval, constantly displayed virtues equal to his rank. To procure the welfare of his people and maintain the honor of the empire, were now, as they had hitherto been, the constant objects of his solicitude. If, for want of sufficient forces, he could not expel the Lombards from their conquests in Italy, nor prevent the Avari, a Scythian nation, from obtaining a similar settlement in Pannonia; he at least continued, though desirous of peace, to gain great advantages against the Persians, whose new king Hormisdas was obstinately bent on prosecuting the war.

For these successes, the emperor was chiefly indebted to Mauritius, commander of his armies in the East. Mauritius was a man of great valor and experience, and,

with the exception of a certain taint of avarice, still more commendable for the qualities of his heart. Tiberius, whose health was rapidly declining, thought he could do nothing better for the state than to appoint him his successor. This he did in a solemn assembly with universal applause, and died the next day (14th of August, 582), leaving Constantinople in deep affliction for the loss of so excellent an emperor, and yet in the cheering hope of equal prosperity under the new sovereign.

MAURITIUS.—A. D. 582—602.

The triumphs of Mauritius over the Persians had raised him to the throne: in order to maintain his own work, and pursue the course of his victories, he sent numerous armies to the frontiers; but the misunderstanding of the troops and generals permitted the enemy to regain the superiority in the first campaigns. At length, good order was re-established, and the Persians were conquered in many battles. These defeats, joined to the intolerable pride and cruelty of Hormisdas, roused his subjects against him. He was thrown into a dungeon, and, shortly after, put to death, with the consent of his son Chosroes II, who began to reign in his place.

But Chosroes himself was not secure upon a throne lately stained with his father's blood. A considerable portion of the army persevered in its rebellion against the royal family, and defeated the troops of the King. In this distress, Chosroes, trusting more to a generous enemy than to disloyal subjects, fled for refuge to the Roman boundaries, from which he wrote a moving letter to Mauritius, requesting his assistance and protection. Mauritius liberally complied with the request. By his orders, the fugitive monarch was treated in a manner worthy of a sovereign, and moreover supplied with a powerful army, whose exertions enabled him to re-enter his

own dominions in triumph, to crush the rebels, and regain the undisturbed possession of his kingdom (A. D. 593).

In return for these signal benefits, Chosroes yielded to the Romans the territories and cities for which so much blood had been shed and so many battles fought within the last years. A permanent peace was concluded between Persia and the empire; and thus, instead of meanly fomenting the internal feuds of a powerful and rival state, Mauritius had the honor of bringing them to a happy termination, of replacing an exiled sovereign upon his throne, and of ending, by an act of generosity far more commendable than all his victories, a long and violent struggle which had proved so fatal to both nations.

The emperor then directed his attention chiefly to the defence of the northern frontier against the attacks of the Avari. These barbarians were accustomed to a life of warfare and pillage: frequently victorious and successful in their attempts, sometimes conquered and repulsed, they incessantly renewed their inroads, and spread devastation through Mesia, Thrace and other provinces. At last, a masterly expedition of Priscus, one of the Roman generals, in 601, almost annihilated their forces, without however destroying their warlike and restless spirit.

This brave commander, having resolved to strike a signal blow, crossed the Danube with the intention of attacking the Avari upon their own territories, and immediately sent away the boats, in order to reduce his own soldiers to the necessity of conquering or perishing. This being done, he marched out of his camp, with all his troops drawn up in battle array; and, as it was the custom of the barbarians to fight in separate bodies and in a desultory manner, Priscus divided his army into three square battalions, the better to face the enemy on all sides. He ordered them, moreover, not to use their arrows, but to come to close fight with their pikes and javelins. This first combat ended only with the day,

and the issue was favorable to the Romans; for, whilst their loss did not amount to more than three hundred men, they had killed four thousand of the Avari.

The enemy did not appear for two days. On the morning of the third, Priscus drew up his army in the same order as before, but, during the contest, gradually extended its wings, so as to enclose the barbarians, who lost nine thousand men on that day. The ten following days passed without any new engagement. Priscus, animated by his first success, and seeing the Avari at a stand, went forward to provoke them a third time to battle. He posted his troops on the declivity of a hill at the bottom of which there was a lake. The Romans rushed upon the barbarians with such fury, and drove them towards the lake with such irresistible force, that fifteen thousand of them were put to the sword, or perished in the water. Of this number were the four sons of the Kan (chief of the Avari); and the Kan himself was, for some moments, in great danger which he escaped only by a precipitate flight.

Priscus, having let his troops take some repose, went in search of the Avari, and fought them in a fourth and equally successful battle which obliged the vanquished to retreat beyond the river Teissa. The conqueror sent four thousand men to observe them, and examine their new position. This detachment found in a certain borough a great multitude of Gepidæ, subjects of the Avarian nation, who had just come to celebrate one of their solemn feasts. These barbarians, not being informed of the issue of the last battle, were enjoying themselves at table during the night, particularly in drinking. The Romans arrived just at that time, and easily slew thirty thousand of them; they then returned, loaded with booty, to their camp on the other side of the river.

Twenty days more having elapsed, the Kan, at the head of a considerable force, recrossed the Teissa, and challenged the Romans to a fifth battle. His obstinate

resolution was still of no avail, and this victory of Priscus crowned the success of his glorious campaign, which had not lasted more than two months. The numerous army of the Avari was either cut to pieces or drowned in the river. There remained only about seventeen thousand men, many of whom were taken prisoners; but, shortly after, the Kan had the good fortune to recover them by a stratagem, and with them repaired, in some measure, the great losses of his nation.

It was just the reverse with the Greek emperor, whose political career, so successful in the beginning, ended in a bloody tragedy of which he and all his family were the victims. During one of the preceding campaigns, the Avari had taken twelve thousand Roman prisoners, whom Mauritius refused to redeem, though but a trifling sum was asked for their ransom; and this refusal so enraged the barbarians, that they put them all to the sword. The emperor then began to be stung with remorse, gave large alms, and prayed that God would rather punish him in this life, than in the next. His prayer was heard, and he himself unknowingly prepared the way for its accomplishment.

The late conduct of this prince with regard to the prisoners, had already provoked loud complaints against him, when, in the year 602, he ordered the troops on the frontier to take up their quarters in the enemy's country, and to subsist there by plunder during winter. The soldiers exasperated at this command, chose one Phocas, a daring, ambitious man, for their leader, and marched to Constantinople, where he was crowned emperor. Mauritius endeavored to make his escape, and passed indeed to the opposite shore, but was overtaken with his family. His five sons were slain before his eyes, at Chalcedon, whilst he repeated these words of the Royal Prophet: *Thou art just, O Lord: and thy judgment is right.** When the nurse offered her own child instead

* Ps. cxviii, 137.

of his youngest, he would not suffer it. Last of all, he himself was massacred, and, after having shown himself a great general and an emperor of some ability, appeared in his last moments a true and magnanimous hero. He had held the sceptre twenty, and lived sixty-three years.

During his reign, an inundation took place in Italy, which was deemed the most surprising and destructive that had ever happened since the deluge. All the rivers overflowed, and spread devastation throughout the whole country. The plains were covered with such a quantity of water, as to present the spectacle of a vast sea, upon whose surface the wrecks of farms, the timber of houses, the dead bodies of men and animals, were floating on every side, as in a general shipwreck. The Tiber was so high, that it filled the streets of Rome, destroyed many buildings, and left uncovered only the seven famous hills of the city, which then appeared as so many islands. The rapid stream carried along with it an incredible multitude of serpents, among which there was seen one of an enormous size. Being all hurried away into the sea, they perished, and were thrown up by the waves upon the beach. In fine, this deluge was accompanied by frightful storms, thunder and lightnings, and followed by a pestilence which swept off vast numbers of inhabitants.

In the midst of these calamities, St. Gregory the Great was, notwithstanding his modest reluctance, raised to the chair of St. Peter, which he occupied fourteen years (590—604). During that period he constantly acted the part of a wise, enlightened, virtuous and holy pontiff, as all contemporary monuments testify.* This great pope

* This being a notorious fact, to which all contemporary documents bear ample testimony, plainly demonstrates how unjust and absurd are the charges of bigoted zeal, ambition, flattery towards princes, &c. brought forward by Hume and other infidels against St. Gregory.

Equally unfounded and ridiculous is the accusation of his having destroyed the books and other monuments of ancient literature in Rome. This work of destruction is not only well accounted for by the multiplied ravages of the barbarians, but, even in the opinion of Bayle

arrested the progress of the plague by his prayers; instructed emperors, and at the same time inculcated the obligation of true obedience in their regard; consoled and strengthened Africa; confirmed in the true faith the Visigoths of Spain, lately converted from Arianism with their King Recared; sent to England the glad tidings of the gospel; reformed discipline in France; subdued the fierce temper of the Lombards; saved Rome and Italy, which the emperors were unable to assist; checked the growing pride of the patriarchs of Constantinople; enlightened the whole church by his doctrine; governed the East and West with equal vigor and humility, and afforded to the world a perfect model of Ecclesiastical government.

PHOCAS.—A. D. 602—610.

Mauritius and his guiltless offspring being inhumanly cut off, Phocas, the leader of the rebellion, the personification of intemperance and cruelty, appeared in secure possession of the supreme power in Constantinople. But Chosroes, the politic king of Persia, with sentiments of seeming indignation at the murder of his kind benefactor and ally, loudly exclaimed against the assassin on the throne, and threatened revenge. A still stronger motive, his own interest, induced him to declare war against the tyrant Phocas. With numerous troops, he passed the Roman boundary, and, meeting with no resistance, quickly overran Mesopotamia and Syria. Phocas, who had renounced the profession of a soldier, without assuming the character of a prince, remained inactive, and beheld with

and Barbeyrac, two authors little suspected of partiality in favor of the popes; not one single good proof can be adduced that St. Gregory ever attempted to do so; except perhaps with regard to books of sorcery and judiciary astrology. This St. Paul himself did, as recorded in Acts Apost., xix, 19. All this has been candidly acknowledged by Roscoe, in his History of Leo the Tenth, vol. i, ch. i, p. 53, where he praises "the beneficence, candor and pastoral attention of Gregory I,—unjustly charged," he adds, "with being the adversary of liberal studies."

indifference the ravages of his dominions. He suffered Chosroes to gratify his revenge or ambition without a check, and exclusively employed himself in shedding the blood of the worthiest men of the state, and gratifying his unruly passions. His own relatives, and the senate of Constantinople, seeing nothing done for the preservation of the empire, secretly requested Heraclius, the governor of Africa, to come to their assistance, assuring him that the purple would be the reward of his services.

Age had extinguished the last spark of ambition in the breast of Heraclius; but he took all proper means to secure the crown for his son. The young Heraclius boldly embarked in the hazardous enterprise, put a select body of troops on board the vessels that were ready for sea, set sail, and nearly reached Constantinople, before Phocas had the least suspicion of his rival's approach. After a sharp contest at sea, Heraclius forced the entrance of the harbor. In the meantime, the tyrant destitute of friends, was seized by a private enemy, and conveyed on board the galley of the conqueror, who first reproached him for his atrocious crimes, then ordered his head to be struck off and his body to be burned. Heraclius was immediately proclaimed emperor (A. D. 610).

HERACLIUS.—A. D. 610—628.

By this time, the empire was in a most deplorable condition. On one hand, the public treasury was drained; there were hardly any troops to defend the frontiers, and not one good general at their head, the ablest officers having either fallen in battle or perished by the sword of the tyrant. On the other hand, the Avari were recommencing their inroads in the West, and the Persians continuing the work of depredation throughout the whole East. In four successful campaigns, from the year 611 to 615, they subdued Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Syria and Palestine, plundered the cities of Edessa, Cæsarea,

Antioch, Damascus, Jerusalem, etc., and carrying off innumerable captives, together with an immense booty, left those unfortunate regions covered with blood, ruins and ashes.

In pursuit of new victories, the Persians then marched into Egypt, took the wealthy city of Alexandria, and desolated the whole country around; while another army advanced through Pontus and Asia Minor as far as the Straits of Constantinople. Unprepared, and unable to resist so powerful a force, Heraclius begged peace of Chosroes with suppliant intreaties, and even on the humiliating terms of purchasing it by an annual tribute. The haughty monarch rejected the proposal with scorn. Putting the ambassadors in chains, he swore that he would spare neither the emperor nor his subjects, unless they would abjure their crucified God, and, like the Persians, adopt the worship of the sun.

In this desperate state of affairs, Heraclius thought of abandoning Constantinople, and transferring to Carthage the seat of the empire. Rising however from that despondency and lethargy in which he seemed to be plunged, he took at length the generous determination of putting himself at the head of his shattered troops, and to run with them all the hazards of so perilous a war. Being once roused to action, nothing appeared in him but heroism. He spent one year in preparing his soldiers, and inspiring them with his own ardor and intrepidity, his design being, from the very first step, to remove the seat of war into Persia, and thereby oblige the infidels to return home for the defence of their country. Not to leave any enemies behind, he concluded a truce with the Avari, who had lately attacked him on the side of Thrace, and in the year 622, the twelfth of his reign, began his march towards Persia, immediately after easter.

Before the expiration of the same year, Heraclius began to reap the fruit of his efforts, by defeating the Persians in Armenia. This first success turned for ever the scale

of fortune. The Romans, so much dispirited before, but now under the conduct of a magnanimous prince, and animated by the example of his heroic valor, fearlessly entered the hostile territory, overthrowing, as they advanced, whatever dared oppose their progress. Chosroes beheld, with impotent rage, all his armies conquered, his dominions laid waste, his cities and castles taken by storm, and himself compelled to fly, for safety, to more distant quarters. In the summer of 623, Heraclius took the important city of Ganzac or Tauris, and consigned a great part of it to the flames, especially a famous temple dedicated to heathen worship, and the palace of Chosroes, in which there was a rich statue of this proud monarch, under a dome which represented the heavens with the sun, moon and stars, and round about it angels holding sceptres in their hands in honor of Chosroes, with machinery intended to produce effects resembling storms and thunder. Leading back his army to take winter quarters in Albania, near the Caspian sea, the emperor was moved with compassion towards fifty thousand Persian captives whom he had brought with him, and dismissed them all, after having supplied them with the necessaries of life. This act of humanity so touched their hearts, as to make them pray with tears for his further success, and express their ardent desire that he might deliver Persia from a tyrant who, by his exactions and cruelty, was the destroyer of mankind.

The campaigns of Heraclius in 624 and 625, were equally successful. He fought the numerous troops of the Persians in five or six battles, and was as many times victorious. In 626, Sarbar, one of the Persian generals, arrived with a powerful army before Chalcedon on the Asiatic bank of the Bosphorus, and was seconded by the perfidious Avari, who, having broken the truce, attacked Constantinople on the European side; but they were repulsed both by land and sea, and Sarbar was likewise foiled in his attempts against Chalcedon.

On the twelfth of December, 627, Heraclius, almost without any loss on his side, gave the Persians an entire overthrow near the ruins of the ancient city of Ninivis. Razates, their general, was found among the slain, with his shield and cuirass of solid gold; and with him fell nearly all the officers and the greater part of the Persian army. The haughty Chosroes was now driven from town to town, and yet continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of peace. This obstinacy so exasperated his subjects against him, that even his nobles and generals revolted, with Siroes, his eldest son; and, as the old king had just declared Medarses, another of his sons, his successor, Siroes seized on his father, bound him in chains, and threw him into a dungeon. There he was loaded with insults, allowed only a small quantity of bread and water for his sustenance, frequently shot at, and wounded with arrows, until he expired, on the fifth day of his confinement (A. D. 628).

Thus, through a just judgment of God, Chosroes II perished by the hands of an unnatural son, after having himself obtained the throne by spilling the blood of his father Hormisdas, and filled not only his own kingdom, but all the East, with carnage and desolation, during a reign of thirty-five years. Siroes immediately entered upon a treaty of peace with Heraclius, restored the provinces which the empire had lost, and released all the Roman prisoners.

The emperor then returned in triumph to Constantinople, and made his entry in a chariot drawn by four elephants, amidst the shouts of multitudes. He afterwards applied himself to repair in the several provinces the evils caused by so disastrous a war, Persia in the meantime remaining a prey to an almost uninterrupted succession of bloody revolutions which followed the hasty death of Siroes. Upon the whole, both nations were exceedingly weakened, and shortly after found themselves unable to resist with success a common and most formidable enemy,

who, issuing forth from the deserts of Arabia, was preparing at this very time to impose upon the whole East his yoke, his laws, and his new religion.

RISE OF MAHOMETANISM.—(A. D. 622—632.)

The author of this amazing revolution was Mahomet, or Mohamed, a descendent, through Ismael, of the great Patriarch Abraham. That famous imposter is believed to have been born in the year 570, at Mecca, a town of Arabia. The first part of his life he spent in obscure employments, already cherishing however that unbounded ambition which was to burst with so much violence, and to produce such extensive effects. At the age of forty, he assumed the quality of a prophet; and supposing, contrary to the divine promises, that the true worship of God existed no longer upon earth, boldly maintained that he was commissioned by heaven to restore the religion of Abraham, Moses and Jesus Christ, to its primitive purity, dreadfully disfigured, he said, by Christians, Jews and Idolaters.

Upon this foundation Mahomet built his religious system, which is a monstrous compound of Judaism, Christianity, old heresies, and his own fancies; on one side, discarding all the mysteries of religion, on the other, continually inculcating that "God is God, and Mahomet is his prophet." Being subject to fits of epilepsy, he attributed them to the visits of the Archangel Gabriel, by whom he pretended he was taught, but whose presence he could not bear without trances and convulsions. As he knew neither how to read or write, it was only with the assistance of a Jewish Rabbin and of a Nestorian monk, that he compiled his Koran, or book of books, as he called it, and which, in reality, is nothing else than a most strange medley of some beautiful sentences and maxims taken from Holy Writ, and of nonsense, absurdities and

ideas the most extravagant, without design or connexion, though expressed in a lofty and an animated style.

It was a very favorable circumstance for the design of Mahomet, that he preached his doctrine first among Arabs and Saracens the most ignorant people perhaps then in the world. Still, instead of making much progress in the beginning, it rather met with powerful opposition at Mecca; so far, that the pretended prophet, seeing the danger which threatened his life, was obliged to depart from that town. This event happened in the year 622, and is famous among the Mahometans, who trace back to it the beginning of their era, under the name of *hegira*, or *flight*.

Mahomet retired to Medina or Yatreb, another Arabian city, where he was received with great honors. He obtained there numerous proselytes, to whom he declared that he intended to establish his religion, not by the power of miracles, as the ancient prophets had done, but by the force and terror of arms.* To this first means of enforcing conviction he added another equally successful with the generality of men, the enticement of sensual pleasures; he himself setting the example of debauchery, as well as of ambition, enthusiasm and desperate courage. Having assembled a little army, chiefly consisting of thieves and fugitive slaves, he at first attacked the caravans that went through Arabia for the purposes of trade, and meeting with great success, he enriched his soldiers and enlarged his projects. He took the city of Mecca from which he had been compelled to flee, and thence carried the sword of destruction from one tribe to another, forcing all to embrace his religion, or pay him an annual tribute. Before his death (632), nearly the whole of Arabia was already subjugated.

Such was the first result of the exertions of Mahomet;

* See Note E.

and, since he had personally set the example to an enthusiastic people, it is chiefly to him, as to its first cause, that we should refer the long course of victories gained, and of conquests made by his successors. It was he who changed some miserable tribes, until then confined to the deserts of Arabia, into armies of undaunted warriors, for whom the invasion of the whole world seemed to be too little. Of what efforts were not those men capable whose minds he had impressed with the dogma of absolute predestination, whose souls he had inflamed with all the ardor of religious fanaticism, and whom, in fine, he had taught to look upon themselves as strictly bound and most happy either to conquer or to die on the field of battle for the propagation of their sect?

The inexorable severity of Mahomet towards the vanquished, was another cause of the rapidity of his success, the terror which he spread abroad, frequently disarming those whom he threatened with war. His practice in declaring it was, to propose the choice of one of three conditions, viz., the adoption of his religious system, or the payment of a tribute, or an appeal to the sword. They who agreed to the first, not only preserved their lives and property, but were even made partakers of all the privileges of Mussulmen. Those who consented to pay a tribute, were allowed to profess their own religion, provided it was not gross idolatry. If they had courage to fight, no quarter was granted to them; only the women, old people and children were spared, and reduced to slavery. This terrible mode of proceeding continued for many years, and was abandoned only when the Mahometan power, being solidly established, had nothing to fear from its enemies.

The followers of Mahomet are called *Mahometans* from his own name;—*Mussulmen*, or *Moslem*, which means *faithful*, the word by which they designate their religion being *Islam*, *submission* and *obedience* to God;—sometimes *Arabs*, from their parent country;—and more frequently

Saracens, from one of the principal tribes that first embraced Mahometanism. As to the chiefs of this new religion and empire, they took the name of *Caliphs*, or vicars of the prophet; and sometimes also, the title of *Emir al moumenin* or *Miramolin*, which signifies prince, or commander of the faithful.

PROGRESS OF MAHOMETANISM.

CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS IN SYRIA, PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA.—A. D. 632—639.

Mahomet having left no male issue, it was natural to expect that the titles and power he had enjoyed, should be transferred to Ali, his cousin, son-in-law, and designated heir. Still, the suffrages of the nation were for Abu-Beker, Mahomet's father-in-law, a man of great repute among the Arabs, and to whom, more than to any one else, Islamism was indebted for the popularity it had acquired. Moreover he was powerfully supported by the most influential chieftains of the Mussulmen, Omar and Othman, who preferred by far to see the dignity of caliph, to which they themselves aspired, intrusted to a man sixty years old, the age of Abu-Beker, rather than to Ali, a young man, who, having, according to the ordinary course of nature, the prospect of a long life, would likely prevent them from ever becoming caliphs.

Abu-Beker therefore was elected, and immediately took the census of his subjects. Having found one hundred and twenty-four thousand Mussulmen, he did not doubt but that he might, with these forces, undertake and execute great projects. After quelling some seditions among the Arabs, and driving the Persians from the ancient Chaldea, he raised three armies for the invasion of Syria, under the command of three valiant chieftains, Kaled, Abu-Obeyda and Amrou. Their first attack was directed against the frontier towns, Bostra, Palmyra, and some

others, which were easily conquered. Kaled, who was the commander in chief, then went, at the head of fifty thousand men, to lay siege to the important city of Damascus. Neither the courage of the citizens and garrison, nor the exertions of the troops sent to their assistance, could save the town from the hands of the infidels. It was taken by them at the end of six months, and most of its brave inhabitants were inhumanly slaughtered, by the order of Kaled. This happened on the 30th of August (634), and was the last event of the reign of Abu-Beker, who died on that very day, at the age of sixty-three years, after having appointed Omar his successor.

The death of one caliph and the accession of another made no alteration in the plans, and put no hindrance to the progress of the Saracens. The only change that arose was, that Abu-Obeyda received the chief command of their troops, in the place of Kaled whose temper was too violent and sanguinary. This terrible, but truly magnanimous warrior, descended without a murmur to an inferior rank, and declared that this circumstance would by no means prevent him from making the utmost exertions for the public welfare. Such was the heroic spirit of the Arabs of that period: religious enthusiasm raised their minds above the ordinary feelings of nature, and kept them ever ready to sacrifice their private interests and personal views on the altar of patriotism. However, as Kaled possessed surprising activity, and great talents for war, he continued, under Abu-Obeyda, to direct the operations of the army, and this good understanding of the two generals greatly facilitated their success.

In the meantime, the Greeks and the Syrians, roused by their extreme danger, opposed in different parts of the invaded country, a formidable resistance which cost the lives of many Saracens, particularly in the neighborhood of fortified places whose garrisons frequently made vigorous and successful sallies. Heraclius also was exerting himself in taking measures to preserve Syria. Having

raised a numerous army, he placed it under the command of a general named Manuel, who immediately went in search of the Saracens. It did not take him long to find them; at the news of his approach, Obeyda and Kaled had assembled their forces, and stationed them on the banks of a river near the city of Yarmouth. On that spot the furious and bloody engagement took place, which almost annihilated the Roman power in those provinces. During the battle, which lasted several days, women seemed to vie with men for the prize of courage. On the first day, the Greeks animated equally by despair and by the superiority of their numbers, three times put the Saracens to flight, and three times the fugitives returned to the field, spurred on by the railleries of their wives, who were placed at the rear with the great standard of Mahomet. Not less sharp and obstinate was the fight of the following day. At last, the Christians being not only harassed, but also betrayed, were entirely defeated, and lost more than a hundred thousand men, many of whom fell by the exterminating sword of the Arabs; some perished in the river; and others were taken prisoners.

The conquerors seized the occasion of improving their victory, by the pursuit of the vanquished, and by the capture of those places in Syria and Palestine, which had until then sided with the empire. Jerusalem, in particular, was the grand object of their views. Mahomet had always professed a peculiar veneration for that holy city, and transmitted that veneration to his followers, who ardently desired to have the town in their possession. Accordingly, only one month after the battle of Yarmouth, Omar sent to his generals an order to march into Palestine and attack Jerusalem. The city, though destitute of all hope of assistance from Heraclius, resisted during several months all the efforts of the enemy, but was in the end compelled to surrender. The caliph went himself from Arabia to treat of the capitulation, granted mild conditions to the inhabitants, and solemnly

took possession of the town, in May, 637. Aleppo, Antioch, Tyre, Cæsarea, etc. fell also about the same time under the power of the victorious Arabs, and the conquest of Syria and Palestine was completed by them in the space of six years.

The conquest of Mesopotamia cost them still less time and fatigue. One year was sufficient to subdue that country for which the Romans and Persians had fought during many centuries. Edessa, Nisibis, and other towns, so famous in antiquity for the glory of their arms, as well as for the flourishing state of christianity within their walls, scarcely dared make any resistance, and submitted to the Mahometan yoke.

All this happened during the reign of Heraclius, who was now disgracing by indolence the glory which he had formerly acquired, and who seemed to have lived, merely to behold the loss of his finest provinces. He died in the year 641, the thirty-first of his reign, and sixty-seventh of his age, leaving the Greek empire in a condition nearly as deplorable as that from which he had rescued it some years before. After him, Constantine Heraclius and Heracleonas, his sons, occupied the throne ten months only, and Constant II, his grand-son, who occupied it twenty-seven years, did little else than persecute the church and tyrannize over his subjects.

CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS IN EGYPT.—A. D. 639—644.

Sovereigns of this description were certainly incapable of checking the progress of the Saracens, whose armies had already penetrated into Egypt. The leader of their forces in that envied country, was Amrou, a brave general, who has been already mentioned. Uniting wisdom and prudence with intrepidity, he first took different towns either by capitulation or surprise, and at length appeared in sight of the populous and wealthy city of Alexandria.

Like other great generals, Amrou trusted to no one but himself for the precautions and measures to be taken in war. In order then to become well acquainted with the position and strength of the town, he himself went to examine its outworks, accompanied only by a slave called Verdan, and Mulisma, one of his chief officers. Having approached too near the wall, they were apprehended, and brought before the governor of the place, who asked them upon what grounds the Mahometans had come to attack Alexandria. Amrou replied that their view was, either to make the Greeks embrace the religion of Mahomet, or compel them, sword in hand, to pay an annual tribute to the caliph.

So bold an answer led the governor to believe that the man who gave it was certainly the general of the Saracen troops. "This is Amrou himself," said he to his officers; "let him be beheaded." Verdan, who understood Greek, seeing the imminent danger of his master, turned to him, and giving him a violent blow, said in an angry tone: "Why do you, who are the last of the Mussulmen, take upon yourself to answer? Let your superiors speak." Then Mulisma, raising his voice, said that the general of the Mahometans, desirous to treat with the governor, had sent them to demand an interview; and, if the Greeks were disposed to offer or accept reasonable conditions, peace would be soon concluded.

This stratagem had the desired effect. The governor, believing now that he had been mistaken about these men, dismissed them unmolested; but, instead of the proposed interview, Amrou, on the following day, showed himself with his whole army near the walls of Alexandria, and immediately commenced the siege (A. D. 640).

It lasted fourteen months, during which the Saracens lost twenty-three thousand men, who were slain either in different assaults or in the frequent sallies made by the garrison. At last, they took the city by storm, and putting to the sword many of its brave defenders, drove the

others into the country, whither they were pursued by Amrou. Still, many of them had time to embark in the vessels which they found in the harbor. They soon returned, re-entered the city, and slew all the Saracens whom Amrou had left there. At this melancholy news, he hastened back with his troops, and finding the Greeks already in possession of the fortress, attacked them without delay, and, notwithstanding their vigorous resistance, drove them from this their last retreat. Those who escaped the destructive sword of the conquerors, re-embarked with precipitancy, and abandoned to the Saracens this powerful city which had been so long the great store-house, as it were, of Rome and Constantinople, the honor of the empire, and the centre of commerce in the East. It lost then these noble prerogatives, and the whole province passed with it under the Mussulman sway.

At this time also, literature suffered an irreparable loss by the conflagration of the Alexandrian library which contained upwards of five hundred thousand volumes. Amrou sent deputies to consult with the Caliph, and ask him what was to be done with so many books. Omar answered that, being useless if they agreed with the Koran, and dangerous if they differed from it, in either case they were to be destroyed. The Mussulman general, who was not less moderate after victory than intrepid in battle, punctually, but reluctantly, obeyed the order. The books were distributed throughout the various quarters of the city, and served, it is said, to warm the public baths during six months.

No sooner was Egypt entirely subdued, than Amrou, proceeding farther west, carried his victorious arms into Lybia, and would have made still greater progress, had not the death of Omar occasioned his return. This caliph was murdered at Medina, in 644, by a Persian slave, to whose complaints against his master he had refused to listen. Othman was immediately chosen to suc-

ceed him. The death of Omar created deep affliction in the heart of every true Mussulman. Of all the caliphs, he is, to this day, the most revered among the Mahometans, at least those called Sunnites (p. 235), as having contributed most to the increase of their civil and religious power. In fact, according to an ancient historian, he conquered, within the space of ten years and a half, thirty-six thousand towers or fortresses. Syria, Mesopotamia, nearly all Persia, Egypt and Lybia, were subdued by his generals; and, what is still more surprising, these conquests were not less secure and permanent, than they had been rapid and extensive, owing to the wisdom and firmness with which the caliph governed—his staff, to use the expression of the Arabs, being more respected than the sword of his successors.

This wonderful success of Omar's administration produced no change in his morals, no alteration in his manner of life, which was quite plain and even austere. Careless about his own ease, he every Friday distributed the money of the treasury to the poor, according to the wants of every individual. Historians highly praise also his love of justice, though they admit that he sometimes carried it to an excess bordering on cruelty, and that he was not always faithful to his promises.

CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS IN PERSIA, RHODES AND OTHER COUNTRIES.—A. D. 632—656.

Othman completed the subjugation of Persia, which had been commenced under Abu-Beker, and vigorously prosecuted under Omar. This kingdom was, in consequence of its frequent revolutions and the victories of Heraclius, nearly shorn of its strength; and Isdegerdes III, who, in 632, ascended the throne at the age of fifteen years, was too young to defend it with success against the repeated attacks of the Mussulmen. At the same time that they invaded Syria, thirty thousand of their

warriors carried the sword of destruction to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. They were commanded, in this first period of their progress, by Saad, one of the heroes of the Saracens, who achieved in Persia exploits equal to those of Kaled in Syria, and of Amrou in Egypt. The Persians, on their side, like the Syrians and the Greeks, roused themselves to a new exertion of that courage which they had so frequently displayed in former and better times. They made incredible efforts to avert the storm and secure their independence; nor could the Saracens truly look upon themselves as the conquerors and masters of Persia, as long as there were inhabitants to defend it against invasion.

No later than the year 636, a tremendous battle was fought near the town of Cadesia between the Mussulman troops commanded by Saad, and a Persian army amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, under the command of Rostan, the bravest of their generals. This battle, which is as famous among oriental nations as that of Arbela between Alexander and Darius (B. C. 331), was continued three days, with the utmost fury on both sides. The Saracens lost nearly eight thousand, and the Persians, upwards of sixty thousand men; Isdegerdes was obliged to fly to the remotest parts of his kingdom, where he hoped he would be better able to muster new forces.

The Mussulmen, before pursuing him, marched to Ctesiphon, or Modin, the capital city of Persia, and took it at the first onset. They found in it immense treasures and effects of inestimable value, the pillage of which enriched them, and, by a necessary consequence, made them lose the noble simplicity and plainness of their ancestors. Still, their warlike and enthusiastic spirit was ever the same, as clearly appeared when Saad, a few months after the capture of Modin, received from the caliph an order to go forward in pursuit of Isdegerdes. This intrepid general, with an ardor not to be surpassed, led his troops through the deserts and mountains of Persia, from

one extremity to the other of this vast empire. Having overtaken the king at Gialola, in the province of Korasan, he gained over him a second victory as bloody and decisive as that of Cadesia. The unfortunate monarch was driven entirely from his dominions, and forced to apply for refuge and assistance to the petty neighboring tribes.

A third battle gave the deadly blow to the Persian monarchy. Rostan, summoning all who could bear arms, raised another very numerous army, with which he determined to make a last and desperate effort for the support of their tottering empire. Nooman, at that time commander of the Saracens, in the place of Saad who was engaged in subduing important provinces, did not avoid the battle. It took place near Nahavend, and was for a long time disputed with incredible animosity and valor. Nooman perished in the conflict, and the Saracens were about to abandon the field, when Hodaïfa, a brave officer, revived their courage, and rushing at their head against the enemy, so broke his ranks, and made such a slaughter, as to gain at last a decided and most signal advantage, which the Arabs call *the victory of victories.*

From this time forward, the Persians did not venture to appear any more in the open field; cities every where opened their gates to the conquerors, a very few only having dared to make any show of resistance. It was in vain that Isdegerdes once more endeavored to retrieve his losses; his last troops were easily overthrown, and he himself, overtaken in his flight, was put to death by perfidious auxiliaries. Thus ended the second Persian empire (A. D. 651), after having lasted four hundred and twenty-five years from its restoration in 226. The Arabian power was now fully established in that kingdom, and the surviving population adopted the religion of Mahomet.

About the same time, the Saracens made other conquests in various countries, but neither so secure nor so important. The reduction of the island of Cyprus was

but momentary, being shortly after reconquered by the Christians. Nearly the same happened to Armenia; but Nubia, in the south of Egypt, was rendered tributary, and the conquest of the island of Rhodes proved more lasting. Moaviah, a brave and skilful general, entirely subdued it in 653. The famous Colossus, or brazen statue of the sun, which the Rhodians had erected (B. C. about 300), after their deliverance from a powerful enemy (Demetrius Poliorcetes), was still lying on the ground. It was at least one hundred and five feet high, its other dimensions being in proportion: each finger was larger than a man of ordinary size; and being placed at the entrance of the harbor upon two opposite rocks which served as pedestals, ships could pass without difficulty between the feet of the statue. It was thrown down by an earthquake, after having stood fifty-six years; and it remained upon the shore for about nine centuries, when the Saracens, then masters of the island, sold the broken parts of the Colossus to a Jewish merchant, who loaded with them nine hundred camels: this supposes the whole weight to have been seven hundred and twenty-thousand pounds.

DISSENSIONS AMONG THE SARACENS.—A. D. 656—668.

The progress of the Saracens in Asia was now checked for a time by various obstacles, the greatest of which arose from among themselves. It was occasioned by the death of Caliph Othman, who, having provoked general discontent by the haughtiness of his deportment, and his partiality for his relatives upon whom he blindly lavished the dignities and treasures of the state, fell by the swords of assassins at the age of eighty-two years (A. D. 656). The right of succeeding him was claimed simultaneously by Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, and by Moaviah, the conqueror of Rhodes. A civil war ensued, which, though bloody, left the question undecided, till Ali, being mur-

dered in 661 by a certain fanatic of his own party, and his son Assan dying after the lapse of some years, Moaviah remained sole and undisputed master. He chose Damascus for his residence, and was the head of the Ommiade dynasty, which reigned over the Saracens ninety-two years.

But, although Moaviah succeeded in uniting under his sway all the parts of their empire, the hatred of the two parties did not abate: founded, not only on the difference of political pretensions, but also on the disagreement of religious doctrines, it continued to subsist, and has continued almost to this day the cause of frequent and bloody wars between the Persians who adhere to the sect of Ali, and the Turks who are followers of Omar and Moaviah. The preference given to Abu-Beker over Ali (see p. 225), is commonly assigned as the origin of this lasting animosity. According to the Persians, Ali was the lawful successor of Mahomet, and the three first caliphs were mere usurpers, as well as the Ommiades, who reigned after them to the detriment of the Fatimites, or offspring of Ali by his wife Fatime, Mahomet's daughter. The Turks, on the contrary, call themselves *Sunnites*, or orthodox, attached to the traditions of their Mahometan ancestors, and give to the Persians the name of *Shyites*, that is to say, schismatics and sectarians.

PROSPERITY OF THE GREEK EMPIRE UNDER CONSTANTINE-POGONATUS, A. D. 668—685.

Another great obstacle which the Mussulmen of the seventh century found in their career of invasion, was the superior ability of the Greek emperor, Constantine IV, or Pogonatus. No sooner had his father, Constant II, been slain by his own servants (A. D. 668), than he seized, with a resolute hand, the helm of the state. He commenced his reign by punishing the murderers of his father, and bringing to a speedy termination some dangerous sedi-

tions. When he had succeeded in his attempt, he found a still better opportunity of manifesting the energies of his soul, in the defence of his capital city against the attacks of the Saracens.

During seven years in succession (673–679), the numerous armies of Caliph Moaviah presented themselves before the walls of Constantinople, and battered them with all kinds of military engines; but they were constantly repelled, and finally obliged to retreat. Their failure was owing to their want of prudence and experience with regard to the attack of fortified places, inasmuch as they retired every winter, and were afterwards obliged to recommence the siege, as if nothing had hitherto been done; and also to the unwearied courage and activity which the emperor and his troops displayed all that time. Among the various means which they took to baffle the efforts of the enemy, none was of greater service to them than the Grecian fire, which had been lately invented by a Syrian named Callinicus. This man, having come from Heliopolis to Constantinople, carried thither the secret of that famous composition, which for many centuries rendered innumerable services to the Greeks in their different wars. It was used for the first time, during this siege, and caused dreadful ravages among the Saracens. Burning even in water, and directing its blaze downwards, that terrible fire consumed both men and ships, and even iron and stones, before it could be extinguished, for which purpose they were obliged to make use of sand or vinegar.

The Mussulmen, unable to bear up against this mode of warfare, abandoned their undertaking, after it had already cost them a considerable part of their fleet and army. The remainder was not less unfortunate, when they attempted to retreat. All the vessels were, in consequence of a furious tempest, driven on shore, and broken against the rocks or swallowed up by the waves; while the land soldiers, worn out with fatigue and afflicted by a conta-

gious disease, were quickly overtaken by the Greeks, and cut in pieces, to the number, it is said, of thirty thousand men. Other bodies of Mussulman troops were likewise entirely defeated by the Maronites, or inhabitants of mount Libanus. These multiplied losses induced Moaviah to sue for peace. It was granted on condition of an annual tribute; and Pogonatus had thus the honor of compelling the most powerful prince of that time to become a tributary of the empire.

The state was beginning to recover its ancient splendor, when the Bulgarians, a barbarous nation, until then very little known, made settlements near Thrace on the banks of the Danube. Notwithstanding the wisdom of the measures adopted by the emperor to drive them back, his army was vanquished, and he found himself obliged to conclude a treaty, not very honorable indeed, but necessary for the tranquillity of his subjects. He then applied, with great zeal and success, to restore the peace of the church, which had been greatly disturbed in the East by new heresies. This good, just and pious prince, died in the eighteenth year of a reign generally prosperous and glorious (A. D. 685).

After his death, the court of Constantinople exhibited, during thirty years, an almost uninterrupted series of treasons and revolutions, which it would be equally disgusting and useless to relate. Civil wars were also carried on among the Saracens for the possession of the supreme power, until Abdel Malek, the fourth successor of Moaviah, by repeated victories, destroyed his competitors, prostrated their partisans, and was acknowledged sole caliph in 691.

CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS IN AFRICA.—A. D. 644–710.

This event enabled the Arabs to resume their former course of proselytism and conquest; not so much however in the eastern part of the Greek empire, where they

now suffered frequent defeats, as in other countries. Whilst some of their armies penetrated into India, others, taking the opposite direction, reached the western extremity of the African shores. Yet this did not happen till after a long struggle and repeated efforts; the subjugation of Africa having been, of all their conquests in the civilized world, the most arduous and painful. Amrou had commenced it in the year 644; a second expedition was undertaken in 647 under Abdalla, his successor in the government of Egypt. With an army of forty thousand brave warriors, he advanced as far as Tripoli, a town advantageously situated on the coast of the Mediterranean sea opposite to Sicily. For want of ships and engines of war, he could take neither that city nor another which he likewise attacked; but in the following year, he signalized himself by a more brilliant expedition.

At the approach of the Mussulman troops, the Patrician Gregory, who commanded in those parts, had assembled one hundred and twenty thousand men, either Greeks or natives, and inspired them with his own ardor for the defence of their country. He attacked the Saracens near Yakoubé, and these enthusiastic adventurers, though far inferior in numbers, willingly accepted the offer of battle. Nothing indeed ever surpassed the animosity of the combatants on each side, nor was any battle ever conducted in a more singular manner. Every day, at the rising of the sun, the two armies went forth from their camp, and fought valiantly until noon; then, equally exhausted by excess of heat and fatigue, they retired, as it were, by common agreement, and disposed themselves to recommence the next morning.

This was done for several days in succession, without any decided advantage for either party; till at last a stratagem of the Saracens rendered them completely victorious. By the advice of Zobeir, one of their most distinguished officers, part of their troops remained in the camp, ready to march at the first signal, whilst the others,

early in the morning, went forward against the enemy. The engagement, as usual, was terrible and obstinately disputed, Zobeir purposely prolonging the fight, in order to waste the strength of the Africans. At length the Saracens withdrew from the field, and laid aside their armor, as if to take some repose. The Africans also, worn out with fatigue and burnt by the sun, began to retreat towards their camp.

At this moment, the Saracen troops in reserve mounted their horses, and, with the indefatigable Zobeir at their head, bore down upon a wearied enemy. This unexpected attack every where spread terror and confusion among the Africans, who fled in every direction. Gregory, having rallied some brave soldiers, endeavored, but in vain, to withstand the fury of the assailants: being pierced by a pike, he died on the spot which had been the theatre of his valor. After this, the fugitives were pursued with great slaughter, and the Saracens easily subdued all the country around, and obtained an immense booty. Still, as they had themselves suffered a great loss of men and horses, they did not, at this time, proceed farther, but, leaving garrisons in the places which they had conquered, returned to Egypt (A. D. 648).

No other troops were directed against Africa for the space of seventeen years, namely until 665, when a brave general, called Moaviah, like the celebrated caliph by whom he was sent, gained another victory near Tripoli; but it had no great effect with regard to the fate of those regions.

In 670, a more spirited and effectual effort was made by Oucba, another general full of ardor and enthusiasm, who had just received orders from the caliph to complete the subjection of the whole coast along the Mediterranean sea. This intrepid and fanatic warrior quickly overran all that part of Africa included in his commission. Every thing trembled at his approach, and yielded to his arms. Torrents of Christian blood were spilt in

the places which he subdued, although, according to the rule laid down by Abu-Beker, he spared old people, women and children, and sent eighty thousand prisoners to Egypt. Not satisfied with depopulating the Roman provinces, he attacked and put to the sword the barbarians of Mount Atlas, and, having at length reached the shores of the Atlantic, he spurred on his horse into the sea, and loudly expressed his regret that such a barrier should oppose his further progress.

On his return, Oucba was guilty of great imprudence. Being too easily prompted to believe that the country was entirely conquered, he dismissed or scattered his forces, and kept only five thousand men with him. This rashness caused his ruin. There were still many towns occupied by the Roman troops, the rapidity of Oucba's course not having permitted him to attack them and drive them all from Africa. They assembled together with the natives, chose for their leader Kuscilé, a Moorish prince greatly renowned for his courage and prudence, and marched against Oucba before he had time to collect his own troops.

This undaunted man did not hesitate one instant to go and fight them with a handful of soldiers. Determined as he was to die rather than lose his former glory, he met the confederates half way. When, at the head of his five thousand warriors, he was in sight of that army of a hundred thousand men, he broke in pieces the scabbard of his sword; all his followers did the same, and then, with desperate fury, fell upon the enemy, wishing only to sell their lives as dearly as possible. In fact, not one of them died until he had slain at least his first antagonist, whether Roman or Moor, and the combat lasted as long as there remained one Saracen alive. Oucba was found dead upon a heap of enemies whom his sword had despatched; and the field of battle, which is to this day called *the field of Oucba*, still bears testimony to his intrepid valor.

This loss of the Saracens prevented, for many years

more, the entire reduction of Africa. A new attempt was made in 688 by Zuheir, another hero of Islamism not inferior to those already mentioned; but, this undertaking, like the expedition of Oucba, although at first brilliantly successful, terminated, like the former, in the slaughter of Zuheir and of all his troops.

Thus did northern Africa repeatedly baffle the measures and foil the efforts of its invaders. But its final overthrow was now at hand. No sooner had Abdel Malek prostrated his competitors and their partisans, than he directed his attention towards the achievement of this important conquest, and raised for that purpose numerous armies, the command of which he entrusted to Hassan, then governor of Egypt. This general, equal in courage, and superior in skill and prudence, to his predecessors, instead of overrunning without any fixed object, the country which he desired to conquer, marched directly to Carthage its capital, and took it by storm (A. D. 697). He left a garrison there with every means of defence, but this energetic movement did not prevent the Romans from reconquering the city before the end of the same year. In the ensuing year (698), Hassan, after defeating them in a naval battle took Carthage a second time, and utterly destroyed that celebrated town, without any regard for its past glory or its prospects for the future.

Thus was the death-blow given to Christianity and civilization in Africa. There was yet, it is true, some show of resistance on the part of the remaining Romans united with the Moors; but the persevering efforts of the Saracens overcame all obstacles; and the whole region, from Egypt to the straits of Gadez, or Gibraltar, was finally subdued in the year 710, the sixty-sixth after the first attempt made by Amrou. The generality of the natives gradually embraced the Mahometan religion; and northern Africa soon became the chief quarter from which the Saracens often issued forth to pillage the coasts of Italy and Sicily, and invade the rich provinces of Spain.

CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS IN SPAIN.—A. D. 711—718.

The Visigoths had possessed Spain during the space of two hundred and fifty years, when the imprudence of a prince and the treason of a subject overthrew their flourishing monarchy almost in a moment. King Roderic, shortly after his accession to the throne, dishonored by his immorality the family of Count Julian, one of the most distinguished of the nation. The exasperated nobleman, in order to avenge the insult, resolved to call in the Saracens of Africa. He conducted this fatal design with all the ardor, secrecy and animosity of which the spirit of revenge is capable; and the greatest enemies of his religion and country were solicited by him to cross the straits with assurances of a powerful assistance (A. D. 711).

This proposal was readily accepted, and Musa, the Saracen governor of Africa, sent an army composed of Arabs and Moors, under the command of Tarik, one of his ablest generals. Roderic had scarcely heard of the approach of the invaders, when he beheld them at the gates of his kingdom. He summoned the strength of the nation to attend him in the field, and raised an army of a hundred thousand men, many of whom unfortunately were rather effeminate citizens than true soldiers. The Saracens had scarcely one-third of that number, but nearly all of them were old warriors, accustomed to fight, hardened against fatigues, proud of the conquest of Africa, and eager in propagating the empire of the Koran by the effusion of Christian blood.

The two armies met near Xeres in Andalusia, and being animated, one by the necessity of defending the national liberty and religion, the other by the love of glory and conquest, soon came to a furious engagement. The animosity and obstinacy of the combatants made victory for a long time doubtful; for, although the Gothic army was partly composed of a new and undisciplined militia, there was in it a sufficient number of brave soldiers to with-

stand all the efforts of the Saracens, and the king himself gave such proofs of personal bravery, as could hardly have been expected in a man of his dissolute habits. All this raised among the Goths a cheering hope of the fortunate issue of the day in their favor, when a sudden treason caused victory to declare for their enemies.

During the hottest part of the battle, two sons of King Vitiza whom Roderic had dethroned, joined the Arabs at the head of their partisans, and attacking their countrymen in the flank, threw them into irremediable confusion. The Goths frightened by so strange an event, lost courage, and fled; the king, after using his utmost exertions to rally the fugitives, was himself carried away by their multitudes, and disappeared; nor was his fate ever ascertained with certainty. His horse having been found, with the royal crown and mantle, at a short distance from a neighboring river, it was generally supposed that the unhappy monarch had been drowned.

This day, so fatal to his cause, was decisive in favor of the invaders, on account of the immense booty, and the great number of standards and prisoners that fell into their hands. From the slain among the conquerors, who lost sixteen thousand, may be gathered the terrible slaughter of the vanquished. But the most certain as well as most important result of the battle of Xeres, was the downfall of the Gothic monarchy which disappeared with the last of its sovereigns. The Saracens easily dispersed the remainder of its supporters, and directed their victorious course to such portions of Spain as they had not yet invaded. Musa, the African governor, arrived with new forces, and dividing them into three separate bodies, overran in a short time the whole peninsula from Gadez to the Pyrenees. The inhabitants were either put to the sword or made tributaries; the cities were destroyed, or compelled to submit to the Arabian yoke.

In the northern part of Spain, however, a small number

of Christians preserved their independence. Under the guidance of Pelagio and Alfonso, two generous princes of royal descent, they retired from the invaded provinces to the remote and mountainous district of Asturias, where the conquerors at first perhaps disdained, and soon after were unable to attack them with success (A. D. 718). This was the beginning of the more recent kingdom of Spain, which gradually increased, but had to struggle for about eight hundred years, before it could recover its former extent by the entire overthrow of the Arabs and Moors in the Spanish peninsula.

SARACENS DEFEATED IN THE EAST—LEO THE ISAURIAN.—A. D. 717—730.

The Saracens had now, in the lapse of ninety years, achieved as many conquests, as the ancient Romans had done in seven or eight centuries; but the empire of the former was not settled upon so lasting and solid a foundation as that of the latter. Even at the time which immediately followed the subjection of Spain, the Mussulmen experienced signal defeats, whereby their power and glory were greatly impaired. Having a second time attacked Constantinople, both by land and sea, they were again repulsed, with the loss of more than one hundred and twenty thousand men who perished by famine, cold, pestilence, or the sword of the enemy. Their fleet also, consisting of about eighteen hundred ships, was utterly destroyed, either by the fury of storms, or the violence of the Grecian fire. Only five ships escaped to convey to Syria the news of that frightful disaster (A. D. 718).

The emperor of Constantinople at this period, was Leo the Isaurian, a prince justly renowned for his military skill, which he admirably displayed during the siege of his capital. When he had delivered the empire from its enemies, he undertook a war of a very different nature, and much more worthy of a tyrant than of a wise sove-

reign. Unwilling to comprehend that the veneration of images is only an inferior honor referred to the person whom they represent, he published a severe edict against the use of them in churches, as if it were an idolatrous practice; and thus gave rise to the sect of Iconoclasts, or *image-breakers.*

In obedience to the emperor's orders, the holy pictures, and the images of Christ and of his Saints, were destroyed in many places, to the great scandal of the faithful, and not without much blood-shed and innumerable deeds of barbarous cruelty.* One of the most shocking, was the burning of the twelve learned and virtuous librarians, whom Leo had not been able to gain over to his party, together with the public library of Constantinople (A. D. 730). This persecution was carried on with the same and even greater violence by his successor, Constantine Copronymus, and continued to disturb both church and state till the year 787, when, in the seventh General Council,† the second of Nice, the relative honor paid to images was solemnly decided to be according to Scripture and to the practice and tradition of the primitive church, and vindicated from the charge of idolatry and superstition.

SARACENS DEFEATED IN FRANCE.—CHARLES MARTEL, ETC.—A. D. 731—752.

In the west of Europe, the Arabs and Moors, after the conquest of Spain, looked upon France with a jealous eye, and wished to bring it also under their power. The first attempts which they made to this effect, had but little success, being repeatedly defeated by the brave re-

* *See* Theophanes' *Chronography p.* 339;—Anastasius, *in Pap. Gregor. II;*—Fleury, *Hist. Eccles. b.* 42, *n.* 5;—Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas. Emp. b.* 63, *n.* 50 *etc. vol.* 13, *p.* 357—363.

† The fifth General Council had been held under Justinian, in 553; the sixth, under Constantine Pogonatus, in 680, (both at Constantinople), for the purpose of condemning pernicious writings and doctrines connected with the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies.

sistance of Eudes, Duke of Aquitania. But, in 731, a new invasion took place, which threatened not only France, but likewise all Christendom. Four hundred thousand Saracens, having at their head Abderame, a renowned general, crossed the Pyrenees, and driving every thing before them, filled whole provinces with terror and desolation. Their march every where exhibited one continued scene of conflagration, plunder, and bloodshed. They who had the good fortune to escape the exterminating sword of the enemy, were seen flying in all directions. Eudes, who attempted to check the career of the Saracens, was defeated, and forced to abandon his dukedom to the victorious barbarians.

They then advanced, without further obstacle, as far as the river Loire, into the very heart of France, constantly marking their passage with the most frightful ravages. The French monarchy seemed to be on the brink of ruin; every day added to its dangers; but fortunately, it possessed at that time in the person of Duke Charles the greatest general of Christendom. This hero, who had been hitherto engaged in subduing the restless tribes of Germany, was no sooner informed of the progress of the Saracens, than he marched from the north with a choice body of thirty thousand warriors, and meeting the enemy between the cities of Poitiers and Tours, soon put an end to their triumphant and destructive course.

Seven days were spent on each side in preparing for a general engagement. On the eighth day, the French, animated by the presence of their invincible leader, briskly charged the barbarians, and began to pierce the thickest battalions by the tremendous blows of their sabres and battle-axes. The Saracens sustained the attack with equal courage, and, though numbers of them fell dead, still vigorously resisted, by constantly opposing fresh troops to the impetuosity of the assailants. The battle was fought in this manner for several hours, during

which the Mussulman army was mowed down with uninterrupted and frightful slaughter. Towards the close of the day, Abderame fell among the dead. Night separated the combatants, who retired to their respective camps, but with very different feelings—the French, with the consciousness of their advantage, the Arabs, in deep consternation. These fierce invaders, a short time before so proud of past success, but now reduced to a small number, and sensible of their immense loss, availed themselves of the darkness to effect their retreat, and precipitately retraced their steps towards the Pyrenees.

So great was the number of the Saracens who fell in the battle, that, according to many historians, it exceeded three hundred thousand, whereas the loss of the French scarcely amounted to fifteen hundred men. Hence the defeat of the former is considered by all as one of the most signal that ever happened, and the victory of the latter as one of the most complete, important and decisive ever gained, as it was thought to have saved, not only France, but all Europe from the yoke of barbarism and infidelity. It is also commonly believed that this was the day on which Charles acquired the surname of Martel (hammer), because, like a hammer, he had broken to pieces the weapons and crushed the power of the Saracens (A. D. 732).

This great man continued to conquer all his enemies, and to govern France, as he had done before, with sovereign authority under the title of duke. There still existed kings and princes of the family of Clovis; but they were generally weak and indolent, abandoning the cares of government to their prime-ministers. Pepin *the Short*, who in 741 inherited the power and great qualities of his father Charles, thought of taking the last step towards the throne. This appeared so much the easier, as existing circumstances seemed to favor the execution of his project; on the one hand, the mode of succession of the last kings, which had bordered on the elective, and the

inability of the present sovereign, Childeric III, contrasted with his own transcendent merit; and on the other, the wishes of the French people, and the favorable, though very prudent answer of Pope Zachary, who was consulted on the subject, emboldened him to prosecute his design.*

Pepin therefore took his final resolution, and was proclaimed king in a general assembly of the nation (A. D. 752), Childeric having been in the mean time removed to a monastery, where he died three years after. In this prince ended the dynasty of the Merovingian sovereigns, after having occupied the French throne about three hundred years, during which it produced but few good and great monarchs. Dissensions and civil wars first weakened its power; indolence and habitual incapacity completed its downfall.

PEPIN, KING OF FRANCE.—A. D. 752—768.

Pepin showed himself every way worthy of the high station to which he was now raised. He not only maintained profound tranquillity in his kingdom, but extended its limits, and, from the very beginning of his reign, signalized himself by a brilliant expedition equally important in itself and in its consequences.

By this time, the Lombards, already masters of a great part of Italy, aimed at subduing the whole, and indeed conquered the province of Ravenna, which, under the name of Exarchate, had until then belonged to the emperors of Constantinople. Rome itself being on the point of falling into their power, Pope Stephen sent to implore necessary succors from Constantine Copronymus, in whose name the government of Rome was still exercised. But that emperor was too deeply engaged in warring against the images of the Saints, to think of sending troops

* See note F.

against the Lombards. In this extremity, the Romans embraced the last resource which was left them, that of calling the valiant monarch of the French to their assistance.

The Pope went in person to France, where he was received with all possible honor and respect, and found the king and his lords ready to undertake the defence of Rome against its obstinate enemies. But before any act of hostility, and in order to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, deputies were sent, at the Pope's request, to Astolphus, King of the Lombards, strongly to exhort him to do justice, and renounce his ambitious views. The fierce Lombard answered the proposal with threats and insults. Pepin then marched with his troops into Italy, and forcing the passage of the Alps, defeated the Lombards, and obliged Astolphus to shut himself up in Pavia, his capital, where, after a short siege, the vanquished prince consented to accept the terms of peace offered by the conqueror. With the most solemn promises he agreed to restore the towns which he had taken, and to put every thing in the same state as before the war. Pepin, having taken his word, contrary to the advice of the Pope who knew the character of Astolphus better, returned to France.

Scarcely had he departed, when the perfidious Lombard recommenced hostilities, and laid siege to Rome, around which he renewed all the ravages of the late war; Stephen had recourse again to his royal protector, and Pepin again hastened across the Alps into Lombardy. His march was equally successful and rapid. Astolphus dared not face him in the field, postponed no longer the execution of the stipulated treaty, and was moreover condemned to bear the expenses of the war.

At this juncture, two ambassadors arrived from Constantinople, to claim for the emperor the restitution of the cities and provinces which had been usurped by the Lombards. Pepin answered, with a firm tone, that these

countries being now his conquest as justly as any one obtained in a lawful war, it was quite surprising that the Greeks should claim for themselves the fruit of his labors, and the possession of lands and places which they had been neither willing to defend, nor able to preserve: accordingly, as it was not for their master that he and his troops had undergone so many fatigues, it was not to him that he would resign what he had so justly acquired.

The French king intended to make a donation of his conquests in Italy to Pope Stephen and his successors in the pontifical chair. After the Greek deputies had retired, he executed his resolution, by a solemn grant to the see of Rome of that part of Italy which is, on this account, called the *Ecclesiastical State*, and has ever since composed the temporal dominions of the Popes. Before that time, they had been subject in civil matters to the Roman or Greek emperors: but, when the Roman empire no longer comprised the generality of Christendom; when, after its downfall in the West, there sprung up from its ruins innumerable states and kingdoms, whose pretensions, views and interests were different, nay more commonly opposite; it was the kind design and will of Divine Providence, that the Popes should become totally independent of the authority and influence of any secular prince; this independence they afterwards obtained through the instrumentality of Pepin and of his successor Charlemagne, who conferred on the Popes such an extent of temporal power as might enable them freely to exercise their spiritual authority.*

The middle of the eighth century seemed destined to witness great changes in every part of the world. For at that period the Ommiades who had held the Mussulman sceptre for about a hundred years, were, after a bloody struggle, deprived of their ascendancy by the Abassides, another powerful family among the Arabs. Aboul Abbas was the first caliph of this new dynasty. His successor,

* See Note G.

Almanzor, built on the left bank of the Tigris the splendid city of Bagdad which he made his residence. This city was, under the Abassides, what Damascus had been under the Ommiades, and Medina, under the first successors of Mahomet.

In the same time, Abderame, one of the Ommiades, having escaped the ruin of his family, fled from Asia to Spain, where he found the power of the Saracens much weakened by their late defeats in France, by the progress of the Christians in Asturias, and by their own dissensions and feuds. Putting himself at the head of one of the contending parties, he overcame the others, and founded a kingdom free from all allegiance to the caliphs of Bagdad. Cordova was the capital of this new empire.

The late defeats, just mentioned, of the Saracens in France, had been achieved by King Pepin. This warlike monarch drove them entirely beyond the Pyrenees, added Aquitania to his dominions, and moreover enabled himself, by his activity and constant vigilance, to render his arms equally formidable to the various nations of Germany. Broken down by the hardships of so many campaigns, rather than by old age, he died in the fifty-fourth year of his life, the seventeenth of his reign, and the twenty-seventh of his political and public career (A. D. 768).

Valor, prudence, all the endowments of a noble mind and a generous soul, though somewhat tinged with ambition, contributed to make Pepin a most accomplished monarch. He had a surprising talent for conciliating esteem, respect and affection. Although his birth did not call him to the throne, he ascended it with general applause, did not spill one drop of blood either to obtain or to preserve it, and, from the beginning, so well established his authority, that no mention is made of the least rebellion during his reign. Prudence was his predominant quality, and one of the greatest praises that could, in after ages, be bestowed on a prince, was to say of him: "He is as prudent as Pepin." In a word, being the son

of one hero and the father of another, he appeared worthy of both, and historians observe that every thing was remarkable in him except his size from which he derived the surname of *Short.*

But even that, although for many persons an object of raillery, became for Pepin an occasion of glory. On a certain day, as he was witnessing the combat of a bull and a lion, exhibited for the amusement of the court, he turned to his attendants, and asked which of them felt bold enough to separate those furious beasts. Not one dared make the attempt. "Mine then shall be the task," replied Pepin; and leaping into the circus, he went to the lion which he killed by a single blow of his cimeter, and with another stroke cut off the head of the bull. All extolled his bravery, and acknowledged the impropriety of their railleries.

CHARLEMAGNE, KING OF FRANCE AND LOMBARDY.

A. D. 768—800.

It would have been no small honor for the successor of Pepin to follow in the steps of this great prince. Charles, his eldest son, did more than this; he surpassed him, and by the invincible firmness of his mind, the superiority of his genius, and the incredible number of his exploits, raised the French monarchy to the highest degree of splendor that it ever attained.

In effect, a continual series of victories gained over the Saxons, the Lombards, the Saracens, the Greeks, the Avari, and other nations; the conquest of Saxony, Bavaria, Noricum, Dacia, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and of a considerable part of Italy and Spain; the diligent and wise administration of his extensive dominions, during a great number of years; the civilization of Germany; the revival of sciences and literature; the re-establishment of the western empire with all its prerogatives in favor of

the French monarch and of his successors: such are the splendid characteristics with which the reign of Charlemagne presents itself to the admiration of posterity.

He began by chastising the Aquitanians who had just revolted, and the Saxons who, at the other extremity of his kingdom, had made inroads upon his territory. After this double campaign, he was called into Italy for a still more glorious and useful expedition against Desiderius, king of the Lombards, who obstinately refused to abide by the treaty concluded by his predecessor Astolphus with Pepin. That restless and ambitious prince was even threatening the city of Rome, nor could the favorable conditions that were offered him, prevail upon him to give satisfaction.

Charles therefore resolved, at the entreaties of the Romans, to afford them speedy relief, and rescue them from their foe by measures more vigorous and efficacious than mere exhortations. After the example of his father in the like circumstances, he crossed the Alps at the head of a gallant army, put the Lombards to flight, and in a few weeks rendered himself master of almost all the country which they possessed between the Po and the mountains. Still, Pavia, their capital, where Desiderius had taken his last refuge, resisted for six months, during which time Charles, whilst the siege was continued by his troops, went to Rome, and visited Pope Adrian I, a pontiff equally conspicuous for his ability and virtue.

The Pope received his royal guest with great joy and extraordinary honors, and Charles in return manifested his respectful attachment to the Apostolic See, by ratifying and augmenting the donation which Pepin had made in its favor. Upon his return to the camp before Pavia, King Desiderius surrendered at discretion. Charles spared his life, but sent him to a distant monastery, and, by being crowned and acknowledged in his place, annihilated the separate kingdom of Lombardy, which had lasted two hundred and six years (A. D. 774).

Scarcely was this important conquest achieved, when he was earnestly begged to pass over to Spain, for the purpose of rescuing some Moorish princes, his allies or tributaries, from their oppressors of the same nation. Complying with the request, he subdued the north of the Spanish Peninsula with as much facility as he had subdued the north of Italy, and with a very trifling loss. But, as he was leading back his victorious troops to France, being himself at the head of the van-guard, the rear was defeated by the Gascons in the defiles of the Pyrenees (A. D. 778). This however neither impaired his personal reputation, nor made him lose the fruit of his campaign.

Immediately after his return, Charles had to renew the war against the Saxons. This warlike and savage people, though conquered many times before, did not cease, by their yearly revolts, to trouble the French monarch, and furnish him with continual occasions of exerting his valor, and exercising towards them his clemency or justice. On the return of almost every spring, they signalized their ferocious courage, by laying waste the countries situated between the Rhine and the Weser. As often indeed as they took up arms, Charlemagne forced them to submit, and to implore his mercy; but he had, among their chiefs, an implacable enemy, whom nothing could subdue. Always at the head of the rebels, this fierce warrior, when defeated, disappeared for a time, and, like another Arminius, returned to renew the attack as soon as he perceived in the attempt a gleam of success.

Witikind was the name of this undaunted Saxon. He spent the time during the absence of Charles, in urging his countrymen to take up arms again; and they readily complying with the summons, overthrew all the monuments of religion and foreign power which existed in that part of Germany. Some French troops having endeavored to suppress the rebellion, were themselves, through the misunderstanding of their generals, defeated and cut in pieces.

Charlemagne, little accustomed to receive such news, was much afflicted at this event, and lost no time in repairing, or at least in checking the evil. He marched in person at the head of a new army, and suddenly appearing among the Saxons, again forced them to submission. They came to him in great fear, and suppliantly sued for pardon, ascribing the guilt of the late revolt to Witikind who had now taken refuge among the Danes. But Charles, as dissatisfied with this excuse as he was exasperated at their continual acts of rebellion, and not believing it possible to tame their ferocious spirit otherwise than by exercising severe justice, required the other chief rebels to be immediately delivered into his hands, and sentenced them to be beheaded on the same day, to the number, it is said, of four thousand five hundred.

He had intended, by this rigorous chastisement, to inspire the whole nation with a salutary and lasting fear; but the deep mourning which it first occasioned, was quickly turned into fresh and ungovernable animosity. Witikind once more reappeared, and going through the different parts of the country, infused into every breast his own fury and desire of revenge. Fury however was of little avail against the warlike genius and activity of the French monarch. He attacked them before they could muster all their forces, defeated them in three bloody battles, and did not cease during three years to visit with a terrible retribution every quarter of that unhappy region.

Still, Charles ardently desired the end of a war which proved so destructive and fatal to his subjects as well as to his enemies. Resuming therefore his former course of moderate measures, more conformable to his character than measures of rigor, he undertook to gain by mildness the very men whom the utmost severity and the most terrible disasters could scarcely subdue. Through his deputies, he represented to the Saxon leaders how many calamities they had brought upon their countrymen and

upon themselves, and promised them not only entire safety, but even great honors if they would lay down their arms.

At first, Witikind and Abbon, another renowned chieftain, could hardly believe that the king was sincere in offering them such favorable conditions; but being at last induced to rely on his word, they went boldly to meet him. Charles received them with so much kindness, and treated them with such generosity, that they did not hesitate any longer to swear inviolable fidelity to so great a prince, and asked to be instructed in the Christian Religion, which they sincerely embraced (A. D. 785). This step was followed by the entire reduction of Saxony. Partial revolts, it is true, continued to excercise for some years the activity of Charlemagne; but these were much more easily checked than the former; and, in order to prevent their revival in future, thirty thousand Saxon families were transported from the north of Germany to other parts of the French empire. At length, after an obstinate struggle of thirty years, this extensive country was entirely subdued, and, being now reckoned among the dominions of the French king, consented to receive the twofold benefit of civilization and Christianity.

But new wars were threatening in other quarters. The conquests made by the French having awakened the fears and jealousy of the neighboring nations, their sovereigns concluded for their mutual support a powerful league, which however only afforded Charlemagne an occasion to gain new laurels and to enlarge his empire. All his enemies fell into the snare which they had prepared for him. He subdued the Bavarians, conquered the Greeks, carried his victorious arms into Pannonia, and defeated the Avari so often and with such loss, that this nation disappeared from the earth, and left in his power both their settlements along the Danube, and the prodigious wealth which they had acquired within the two last centuries by the pillage of the Greek provinces (A. D. 796).

When Charlemagne had obtained, by so many labors, a state of comparative tranquillity, he applied himself more than ever to make religion, justice, agriculture, commerce and the arts and sciences flourish throughout his vast empire. These great and useful objects he always kept in view, even when engaged in different wars; but more particularly when his sons and generals became capable of filling his place at the head of armies. The interior government of the state was then his chief employment. His wisdom in enacting laws most suitable for the time, place and other circumstances, and his firmness in enforcing their execution, enabled him to restore good order wherever it had been disturbed, and to repress grievous abuses which had taken their rise before the reign of his father Pepin.

Charlemagne undertook likewise to raise literature and learning from the low state to which the invasions of northern barbarians had reduced them during the last centuries. Accordingly, he invited men of great erudition from foreign states to his court, and with their help established, in the principal towns of France and Germany, public schools for the purpose of promoting the study of every branch of true and useful knowledge. The most celebrated among them was Alcuin, a learned and virtuous Englishman, whom the French monarch loaded with honors and blessings. This prince appointed him to open a great school in his own palace, and to deliver lectures, at which he himself usually assisted with his sons and other personages of his court. By these noble exertions, he made the desire of instruction almost universal among his subjects. Various establishments arose, especially in great cities, for the revival of science, and historians remark particularly a sort of academy, or society of learned men, who had frequent debates or kept up an animated correspondence on scientific and literary subjects, the king himself being one of its most distinguished members.

Charlemagne was now at the height of his glory, and the celebrity of his name had reached the most distant parts of the civilized world. The kings of the English Heptarchy solicited his friendship; the Saracens of Spain dreaded his arms; Irene, the empress of Constantinople, entered into a treaty of alliance with him; and the celebrated Caliph Aaron-Al-Rashid, the greatest monarch of the East, and, like Charles himself, a zealous protector of science, sent ambassadors to him from Bagdad, with splendid gifts, among which were the keys of the city of Jerusalem, a repeating clock, and an elephant (the first that had been seen in France): in a word, the whole earth admired his wisdom and respected his power. By the vigor and success of his military exertions, he had become master of a greater extent of country than any prince had possessed in Europe since the fall of the western empire: all the territory that composes modern France; Spain, from the Pyrenees to the Ebro; the greater part of Italy; Dalmatia; Pannonia; Noricum or Austria; Helvetia or Switzerland; Bavaria; Germany, as far as the Baltic; Frisia and Holland, were subject to that mighty monarch. Nothing was wanting to his earthly grandeur but the imperial diadem; and even this was bestowed upon him about this time, in the most flattering manner.

Just at the end of the eighth century, he had repaired to Rome for the purpose of defending Pope Leo III against wicked and unjust persecutors. In return for this and other benefits, the Romans agreed to proclaim Charlemagne emperor of the West. Accordingly, as he was assisting at the divine office in St. Peter's church on Christmas-day, the Pope approached, and, in presence of a multitude of bishops and lords and an immense crowd of people, placed on his head the imperial crown which had been purposely prepared, all present crying out at the same time, in transports of joy; "Life and victory to

Charles, most pious, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans;" this was repeated three times (A. D. 800).

Thus was the Roman empire, three hundred and twenty-four years after its extinction in the West, revived in favor of a monarch truly deserving, by his piety, valor and heroic actions, to be the successor of Theodosius and Constantine. The singular modesty which he evinced on that occasion, made him appear still more worthy of the extraordinary honors which he received. We learn from Eginard, his secretary, that he was totally unacquainted with the design of the Pope and of the Romans. In returning from divine service, he declared that, had he known what was to take place, he would have abstained from going to church on that day, notwithstanding the solemnity of the festival.

From this time forward, Charlemagne joined the title of Roman emperor with that of king of France and Lombardy. During the stay which he made in Rome after the ceremony of his coronation, his extraordinary munificence and generosity gained him more and more the hearts of the people. Even the court of Constantinople acquiesced at last in acknowledging him as emperor of the West, though with great repugnance: but the consent was necessary, and the refusal would have been useless, and perhaps dangerous.

REMARKS ON THE STATE OF CIVILIZATION, LEARNING, AND RELIGION,

DURING THE THIRD PART OF MODERN HISTORY.

No one, well acquainted with the history of past and remote ages, can forbear noticing that contagious distempers, famine, and other similar visitations were then much more common than they are at present. This difference may be ascribed in some measure, to the want of experience in those times, or to a great deficiency in the use

of necessary precautions with regard to the cleanliness of cities and towns, streets, houses, dress and burials. Still, it would be neither just nor accurate to acknowledge no other causes than these, of the calamities which befel men during the period in question, and thence conclude a total absence of foresight and civilization: for, very frequently also, through the dispositions of divine wisdom, power and justice, they originated in earthquakes, inundations, excessive heat or extreme cold, and other natural effects which could not be either foreseen or prevented. Merely to add one instance more to the facts already mentioned (see reign of Justin I, of Mauritius, etc.); in the year 763, the Euxine, or Black Sea, which now shows almost no ice even in the dead of winter, was frozen, throughout a considerable part of its extent, and during the space of four months, to the depth of forty-five feet, with thirty feet of snow on the surface. In the following summer, a multitude of springs and rivers were dried up by the excess and duration of the heat. The history of those times is full of such phenomena.

A more general and more lasting calamity was that occasioned by the settlement of the barbarian tribes in the civilized world. Their successive invasions and incessant warfare necessarily produced great confusion in the laws, customs and manners of the countries which they occupied. It was only by repeated exertions, and after a lapse of many years, that these new states were enabled distinctly to establish their respective constitutions and national character. Languages too, by the continual intercourse of the conquerors and the vanquished, became singular medleys of Latin and Celtic and Gothic words, which happening to undergo, during the course of ages, various alterations or improvements peculiar to each clime and country, gave rise to the principal tongues of Europe, as they now exist.

One of the most pernicious effects of the invasion of the barbarians, was the rapid decline of literature, arts

and sciences, wherever those wild conquerors passed or settled. Owing to their almost exclusive relish for war and plunder, literary and scientific monuments disappeared from innumerable places, and in the very regions where formerly belles-lettres had been most flourishing, ignorance began to prevail, not however to such an extent as is commonly imagined: even at the epoch which preceded the revival of learning under Charlemagne, there always remained much of useful knowledge. The vast store of erudition possessed by a Venerable Bede, an Alcuin, a Deacon Paul, etc.; the numerous and eminent scholars that went forth from Ireland, England, Italy, etc. are sufficient vouchers of this truth. Nay more, discoveries were made in those times of confusion, which would have done honor to conspicuous and enlightened ages; among others, the invention and application of water-mills, in the year 555; of glass windows for churches, about the same time; silk manufactures, in 551; bells in churches, towards 605; organs, in 660; the Grecian fire, in 673; computation of years from the birth of Christ, first proposed by Dionysius Exiguus, a learned monk (of the 6th century), adopted and used in 742.

Religion was the chief, or rather the only means which stemmed this torrent of barbarism, and not only saved letters and learning from universal shipwreck, but also caused the wild tribes, whose destructive invasion had been so detrimental to them, gradually to imbibe and adopt the principles of civilized and social life. It was not to be expected that the Goths, Franks, Lombards, Saxons and Germans, would ever receive those principles from human studies which they heartily despised: Christianity alone could, and really did rescue them from their ignorance and barbarity. As it was already established in the provinces that fell under their power, these savage tribes, whose habits of plunder and revenge could not be checked by force of arms, sooner or later yielded

to the mild precepts of the gospel. Their minds and hearts became attached to a religion which did not teach them only by speculative maxims and didactic precepts, but also by examples, festivals and rites equally moving and instructive.

No sooner had they received and embraced the faith of Christ, than they began to lay aside the rudeness of their manners, and to establish among themselves a more adequate distribution of justice. By the enactment of laws founded on the commands of God himself and adapted to the exigencies of social order, men were taught and induced to set on the lives of their fellow-mortals a higher value than they did before. By the enforcement of the divine law concerning the indissolubility of marriage, there resulted an immense benefit for the community at large, as well as for individuals and families. Shameful acts, which idolatrous nations had considered mere trifles, were now entirely suppressed. A stronger barrier was opposed to human passions; morals became more pure, nobler feelings animated mankind, milder customs were introduced; and these salutary effects were invariably in proportion to the degree of influence which religion acquired over the minds of her new followers.

"The influence of Christianity," says the learned Chancellor Kent, "was very efficient towards the introduction of a better and more enlightened sense of right and justice among the governments of Europe. It taught the duty of benevolence to strangers, of humanity to the vanquished, of the obligation of good faith, and the enormity of the sin of murder, revenge and rapacity. The history of Europe, during the early periods of modern history, abounds with interesting and strong cases, to show the authority of the church over turbulent princes and fierce warriors, and the effects of that authority in meliorating manners, checking violence, and introducing a system of morals which inculcated peace, moderation and

justice." *Kent's Commentaries on American Law, vol.* 1, *p.* 10, *of the 2d edition.*

Bishops, priests and monks, afterwards so much calumniated by an ungrateful posterity, were the active instruments employed by Divine Providence to forward these various improvements in their respective countries. It was from episcopal houses and monasteries that crowds of holy missionaries went forth to instruct, convert and civilize the fierce barbarians of the north. Nay more, the superiors of clerical and monastic bodies were frequently invested by christian kings and emperors with civil jurisdiction, and as it was exercised by them in a more equitable manner than by secular magistrates, men quickly learned to prefer their decisions to the hasty judgments of warlike and ignorant nobles. This accounts for the great portion of temporal authority which bishops and abbots possessed in those remote ages, and which they used in checking the arbitrary vexations of private lords, and rendering as much as possible the various classes of the people partakers of the general advantages of society.

The zeal of the clergy and monks, preserved also not only the sacred science of religion, but likewise all the different branches of useful learning. Their solicitude was industrious in discovering and collecting the relics of ancient literature, and many persons among them daily allotted a considerable portion of their time to the humble but useful occupation of transcribing old manuscripts. Others, more fit for manual labor, actively employed themselves in clearing forests, draining marshes and fertilizing barren grounds. Every obstacle presented by nature or the soil, was overcome by their unwearied exertions, and plentiful crops arose where before naught was seen but reeds or briars. Thus, while the lay proprietors reigned in solitary grandeur over their wide and unfruitful domains, the lands originally bestowed on the monks and clergy by the gratitude, confidence and piety

of their contemporaries, were cultivated and improved; their houses were an asylum constantly opened to the poor, the infirm and the traveller; their villages were crowded with inhabitants, and the foundations were laid of several among the principal cities in England, France, Germany, etc.*

Still greater and more important than these, were the benefits conferred by the Sovereign Pontiffs upon Europe at large, and all Christendom. This will be the subject of a separate dissertation on the Popes of the middle ages.

* See Lingard, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ch.* 3, 4 *and* 10;—Bergier, *Diction. Théol., articles, Moines, Monastères, &c.*

PART IV.

FROM THE REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE (A. D. 800), TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CRUSADES (A. D. 1095).

CHARLEMAGNE, EMPEROR.—A. D. 800—814.

Charlemagne signalized the beginning of his reign as emperor, by redoubling his zeal for the happiness of his people. Still more than ever did he watch over the different parts of his vast monarchy, to procure in them all a speedy redress of grievances and an exact administration of justice. As to the command of armies, he now left it to his lieutenants and his sons, whom he had so well trained in military science, that victory followed their standards on almost every occasion, whether in Italy, Germany or Spain. The Moors or Saracens experienced by new defeats the superiority of French discipline and courage; Bohemia and the coasts of Venetia were added to the empire; the north-eastern frontier was extended to the shores of the Baltic, and the Danes were taught to confine themselves to their isles and their peninsula of Jutland.

These new and brilliant conquests were owing chiefly to the abilities of Charles and Pepin, the two eldest sons of Charlemagne. With delight he looked upon these young heroes as the supporters of his empire, and his future successors; but he had the misfortune to see both of them die in the flower of their age and in the midst of their triumphs. Not permitting however the sensibility of the man and the grief of the father to prevail over the duty and firmness of the monarch, he did not abandon or neglect the cares of government, and seemed rather to be

more active in improving all the good he had already done, in proportion as he approached the end of his long and glorious career. In fine, after having filled the world with the renown of his genius, virtue, conquests and legislation, after invaluable services rendered to religion and humanity, he died at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year of our Lord 814, the seventy-second of his life, the forty-seventh of his reign as king, and the fourteenth of his reign as emperor.

Never was there a monarch greater than *Charlemagne*, perhaps his equal never existed, the epithet *great* being, in the judgment and language of posterity, so strictly due to him, that it constitutes a part of his name. He had a mind which wonderfully fitted him to rule over the most extensive monarchy. Vast in his designs and quick in their execution, going incessantly from one province to another wherever his presence might be required, from Italy to France, and from the Pyrenees to the shores of the German Ocean, he possessed in an extraordinary degree the uncommon talent of performing the greatest things with promptness, and the most difficult with facility. His laws and statutes, commonly known under the name of *capitulars*, every where display a wonderful sagacity, anticipating every thing in point of duty and morality, and by a secret persuasive influence, leading irresistibly to the preservation of good order. All the parts of the empire were closely united by his mighty genius. He established such an equilibrium among the orders of the state, that they counterbalanced one another, and were constantly kept under his control; his own children, two of whom were decorated with the title of king, being his first subjects, the instruments of his authority, and perfect models of obedience.

Not less just than powerful, Charlemagne never provoked the barbarian tribes that bordered on his frontiers; but none of them ever attacked him with impunity. Never defeated, when commanding in person, he conquered or

checked all his enemies, and by the celerity and precision of his movements, frequently baffled their wisest measures and their plans of confederacy, before they could suspect that he was marching against them at the head of his armies.

This wonderful sovereign and mighty conqueror was also one of the most learned men of his age. Arithmetic, astronomy, rhetoric, logic, even biblical criticism and theology, were sciences familiar to him. Besides the Celtic, his native tongue, he knew Greek and Latin well; and being naturally possessed of great eloquence, he could speak, though unprepared, with much grace and facility on almost every subject.

Nor were his moral and christian qualities inferior to his military, political and literary acquirements. Except perhaps in the earlier part of his life, in which his private conduct does not seem to have been altogether blameless, he gave constant marks of the most sincere piety, profound respect for the church, exact justice towards every one, unwearied beneficence, and unbounded charity towards the poor, the widow and the orphan. These and other distressed persons he assisted not only in his own dominions, but also in other countries, sending for that purpose large sums of money to Africa, Egypt and Syria. Hence there is no exaggeration in the remark of an ancient author,* that his death produced universal grief and mourning, particularly among his subjects, and that the pagans themselves bewailed his loss as that of the father of mankind.

What must increase our admiration for Charlemagne, is the amiable simplicity of manners which appeared in all his ordinary actions, and which was more remarkable in him than in other great men. It is particularly interesting to see how he regulated his family. His queen attended to the furniture of the palace, paid the wages of

* Monach. Engolism.; see *Ann. du moyen age*, *vol.* VIII, *p.* 353.

the officers and servants, settled the daily expenses of the table, and procured the necessary provisions. He watched over the education of his children with such assiduity and tenderness, that he would never sit down to table without them, nor be separated from them even during his voyages. He managed the revenues of his estates with as much prudence as he did those of the empire itself, took care that all the lands should be diligently cultivated, and, whilst he spent in works of beneficence the immense treasures of the Lombards and the Avari, commanded his farmers to sell their superfluous fruits, vegetables, and other such things, rather than commit the least waste. In his ordinary dress, he wore no other coats and tunics than those prepared by the persons of his own household.

Charlemagne however knew how to appear with majestic dignity, and could display great magnificence, whenever he was obliged to act as sovereign, for instance, in the reception of foreign ambassadors. Many splendid buildings owed to him their existence and embellishments. His palace of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he usually resided, exhibited all that architecture and art could effect at that time. He created a navy, in order to oppose the first descents of the Normans, those famous pirates of the north. In fine, it was his design to unite the Alantic with the Euxine sea by a canal that would have reached from the Rhine to the Danube: a project truly worthy of the genius of Charlemagne, but the execution of which exceeded the industry of his contemporaries, and failed for want of necessary instruments and experience.

LOUIS THE DEBONNAIRE AND HIS SONS.—A. D. 814—877.

Charlemagne was succeeded by his son Louis, surnamed the *Pious* or the *Debonnaire*, who had shown until then much wisdom in the government of Aquitania, and great courage in his expeditions against the Saracens of

Spain. His virtues indeed accompanied him to the throne; but his talents proved inadequate to this new and much more exalted station. Nearly the whole of his reign was spent in adopting false and impolitic measures which drew contempt upon his authority, and the most humiliating disasters upon his person. Twice he was outrageously reviled and deposed by his own sons and ministers, and twice re-established by the exertions of his affectionate subjects. These troubles and revolutions greatly weakened the French monarchy, and permitted the Saracens on one side, and the Normans on the other, to ravage with impunity the coasts of Italy and France.

Louis died in 840, leaving three sons who divided the empire among themselves. France was allotted to Charles the Bald; Germany to another Louis; and Italy to Lothaire, with the title of emperor. This last, who had been the chief promoter of the late disturbances and rebellions against his father, undertook also to deprive his brothers of their rights. Charles and Louis, not being able to produce a change in his sentiments, united their forces against him, and completely defeated him in the fierce battle of Fontenay, near Auxerre, which cost the lives of a hundred thousand men. Lothaire fled to Aix-la-Chapelle, and shortly after was compelled to retire into his Italian dominions: but the conquerors not knowing how to ensure the permanency of their victory, the civil war still continued for a time, without any important result, except a waste of their forces and the misery of their subjects; which circumstances, added to the continual piracies of the barbarians on all sides, more and more debased the family of Charlemagne, and prepared its downfall.

The want of prudence and firmness in Charles the Bald occasioned another evil which proved the ruin of public tranquillity, particularly in France. Until that time, the presidency and government of provinces, dukedoms and counties, had been temporary and reversible

charges; but, towards the middle of the ninth century, they were permitted to become hereditary dignities, transferable from father to son. This considerably increased the power of their possessors, to the detriment of the royal authority which they acknowledged only by the almost nominal homage of a precarious vassalage. Such was the origin of *feudalism*, which by upholding a multitude of petty tyrants, brought for many centuries a deluge of evils upon the fairest portions of Europe.

ARABIAN AND GREEK EMPIRES DURING THE NINTH CENTURY.

Not dissimilar to the empire founded by Charlemagne, was that of the Arabs in Asia and Africa. It reached the summit of its glory under Aaron-Al-Raschid, and sensibly declined under his successors, none of whom had abilities equal to those of this celebrated caliph. He waged war against the Greeks with uninterrupted success, obliging the famous empress Irene, and after her, the emperor Nicephorus, to pay him a heavy tribute. No Mussulman prince, except perhaps Caliph Omar, was ever more absolute, or knew better how to enforce submission. It was enough for him, when he had the least suspicion or discontent against his generals and governors of provinces, to send them word to resign their offices; the order obtained immediate and punctual obedience.

Aaron sometimes carried his severity to excess, and whilst, on one hand, he exercised uncommon liberality and beneficence, he is said, on the other, to have occasionally set aside the rights of equity and gratitude, in order to indulge his ill-grounded suspicions and capricious feelings. He is however styled *the Just*, probably for some remarkable acts of justice which he performed, or for the just protection which he granted to literature, arts and sciences. In fact, he contributed, more than any

other caliph, to raise the eastern Arabs from the state of ignorance and darkness in which they had been so long buried. He assembled in his court of Bagdad learned men of every class and country, to make them translate into Arab or Syriac books on philosophy and astronomy, which he had bought from the Christians. About this time, a greater social intercourse began to introduce into Europe the Arabian cyphers, with the sciences of algebra and chemistry, and also the Gothic architecture, so called from the Goths of Spain, to whom it was first communicated by the Moors.

Aaron-Al-Raschid died in the year 809, after a prosperous reign of twenty-three years. The Arabian monarchy, no longer supported by his vigorous hand, gradually lost the strength which he had imparted to it; whereas the Greek empire, on the contrary, began to recover from the heavy losses which it had suffered under Nicephorus. This wicked emperor, during the nine years (802—811) that he occupied the throne, seemed to vie with foreign foes in harassing and plundering his people. The end of his reign was particularly disastrous. Having, though absolutely destitute of talents, the highest idea of his princely abilities, he undertook against the Bulgarians an expedition which he thought would be decisive and sufficient to avenge all previous defeats. Through his own imprudence and temerity, just the reverse happened. The Bulgarians shut him up with his numerous troops between defiles and and mountains, and made such slaughter of them, that nearly all perished, with the officers, the generals, and the emperor himself. His head was cut off, by command of King Crumnius, and the dried skull afterwards served as a cup in the solemn repasts of that fierce barbarian. After this, the conquerors poured into Thrace, a part of which they easily conquered under the short reigns of Stauracius and Michael Curopalates, advancing even so far as to threaten the capital.

Such was the alarming state of the empire, until the

year 813, when Leo the Armenian, a man of great military skill, ascended the throne. He had no sooner assembled an army, than he marched out against the Bulgarians, and meeting their victorious hordes near Constantinople, came to a bloody engagement with them, in which he was on the point of being defeated. His troops, terrified by the multitude and fury of those barbarians, began to fly in great disorder, when the emperor, perceiving that there was as much confusion on the side of the conquerors as among the fugitives, suddenly rushed on the former with a body of reserve, and stopped them by the violence of the attack. This revived the courage of his own soldiers, who then returned to the field of battle, and enabled Leo to obtain a complete victory. The next campaign (A. D. 815) was still more successful. The emperor first deceived the Bulgarians by feigning to fly at their approach, and when he knew from his spies that they did not suspect any danger, he entered their camp during the night, and surprising them in their sleep, put them all to the sword. After this, he advanced upon their territory, and laid it waste, experiencing but a slight resistance from the inhabitants, who had no regular troops to oppose him. So great was their loss on this occasion, that for the space of seventy years they were unable to do or afraid to attempt any thing against the empire.

Leo spent the remainder of his reign in persecuting the defenders of holy images with great violence, and conducting the affairs of the state with a rigor which often bordered on cruelty. He was murdered in the year 820 by the partisans of Michael surnamed the *Stammerer*, commander of the guard, who was then confined for rebellion, and who was raised from the prison to the throne. This was exchanging bad for worse; for Michael, besides being a cruel persecutor like Leo, was moreover an unskilful and profligate prince from whom nothing good could be expected. His reign of nine years, instead of doing any service to the empire, beheld the loss

of the rich islands of Crete and Sicily which were conquered by the Mussulmen.

Under Theophilus, the son and successor of Michael, war broke out again with fresh fury between the Greeks and the eastern Saracens. After many undecisive battles, most of which however were fatal to the Greeks, Theophilus undertook, in 840, to repair his losses by an extraordinary effort. He set out at the head of one hundred thousand men, and, after overrunning all Syria, laid siege to Sozopetra, the birth-place of Caliph Mutasem. The Saracen prince, not having had time to assemble his forces, wrote to the emperor, and earnestly begged him to spare the town for his sake; but, instead of complying with the request, Theophilus took and utterly destroyed Sozopetra, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and led the others into captivity.

This conduct filled the caliph with rage and an insatiable desire of revenge. He raised an army superior in numbers to any that had, for a long time, been seen among the Saracens, and caused the name of Amorium to be engraved on the shields of all his soldiers, to signify that his object was the destruction of this place, the most flourishing city of Asia Minor, and the native place of Theophilus. In vain did the emperor supply it with a numerous garrison composed of the bravest troops and officers of his army; in vain did they oppose so heroic a resistance, that Mutasem lost seventy thousand men in the short space of thirteen days: the besiegers, having been informed by a traitor of the weakest part of the town, carried it by storm during the night, and reduced it to ashes, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison and inhabitants. Still, thirty thousand soldiers, or citizens, were preserved alive, to be led as prisoners into Persia; but many of them perished before reaching that country, and forty-two officers having generously resisted all the solicitations of the court of Bagdad to change the Christian faith for the religion of Mahomet,

were put to death after seven years of confinement and sufferings.

The emperor Theophilus had died some time before (A. D. 842), of a disease the progress of which was accelerated by his grief for the loss of Amorium. He was succeeded by his son, Michael III, a worthless and wretched prince, who, after enjoying some years of prosperity under the regency of his virtuous mother Theodora, threw himself into an abyss of crimes and evils, and authorized the first separation of the Greek from the Latin Church. The chief author of that fatal schism was Photius, a man of great genius and learning, and of still greater ambition and wickedness. By his intrigues, which were supported by a vicious court, he succeeded in invading the patriarchal see of Constantinople, after he had procured the unjust expulsion of the lawful patriarch, St. Ignatius (857). His unparalleled talent for dissimulation and imposture enabled him likewise to gain over to his party many of the principal personages in the Greek church and state; but all his cunning failed with regard to Pope Nicolas I, in whom he found an insuperable barrier to all his wicked schemes.

This great pontiff not only refused to approve of the irregular proceedings of Photius, but even pronounced against him a solemn sentence of excommunication. Photius, who had until that time acknowledged without difficulty the primacy of the Apostolic See, resolved in his anger to separate the church of Constantinople from that of Rome. He took the bold step in the year 866, and endeavored to support it by every means in his power, especially by impostures and calumnies of the most outrageous nature. This course of violence lasted, it is true, but a short time, because, in consequence of a new revolution which happened at court, Photius was expelled from the patriarchal see, and solemnly condemned by the eighth General Council held in 869 at Constantinople for the reunion of the two churches; still, there always

lurked in the breasts of the oriental bishops a leaven of jealousy and discord, which again burst forth in the eleventh century, and completed their schism.

The new revolution just mentioned took place in 867, when Michael III, whilst meditating the death of Basil the Macedonian, his associate in the empire, was himself killed in a state of intoxication, after a despicable reign of twenty-five years. Basil was, by unanimous consent, acknowledged sole emperor, and showed himself, notwithstanding his humble birth, more worthy of this high preferment than all his predecessors within the last two centuries. Not less attentive to save the citizens from oppression than to defend the state from foreign foes, whilst on one hand he gained considerable advantages in war against the Saracens, on the other, he repressed the injustice of magistrates and governors wherever he could detect it, as well in the nearest as in the most distant provinces, taking the greatest care to appoint to offices of trust only upright and virtuous persons, men neither to be bribed by presents nor frightened by threats, and wholly bent on the faithful discharge of their duties in favor of justice and innocence. In order to banish cupidity from all tribunals, he strictly forbade judges, as he allowed them a sufficient stipend from the state treasury, to receive any thing from either of the contending parties, under any pretence whatever. So far did he watch over the interest of poor people, when attacked before the courts of judicature by some rich and powerful person, that he even established a public fund to enable them to defend their cause and support them until it should be decided.

The vigilance and firmness of Basil soon restored peace, abundance and security, in every part of the state. Complaints against governors and magistrates, which were extremely common before, ceased so completely, that the emperor, having one day gone, as usual, to receive and examine the petitions which might be presented

to him, did not hear of a single grievance. Fearing lest the injured persons might have been, by violence or treachery, prevented from entering the palace, he sent confidential officers to inquire into the state of his subjects. After diligent investigation, all returned and assured the emperor, that they had found no one who had expressed any dissatisfaction. This news filled Basil with extraordinary joy; he shed tears of exultation, and gave thanks to God for so admirable a change. On another occasion, having been informed that the price of flour had become so high that poor people were almost dying with starvation, he directly caused all his granaries to be opened, and the wheat to be sold at one-twelfth of the ordinary price.

This excellent emperor died in 886 of an accident which happened to him in the chase. A strong and stately stag, rushing by him, caught his cincture, and dragged him from his horse; before assistance could arrive, the animal shook him so violently, that a mortal disease ensued, which in a few days brought him to the grave. He had reigned about nineteen years, during which, by constant and successful application to affairs, he infused new life into the Greek empire. His glory indeed is tarnished by the share which he took in the murder of his predecessor, by some acts of inhumanity towards prisoners taken in battle, and a certain pride which occasionally betrayed him into false measures; still the great number of his illustrious and generous actions has justly ranked him among the most remarkable sovereigns of Constantinople. His descendants occupied the throne for nearly two centuries, but none of them was equal in talent and merit to the founder of their dynasty, and the empire fell again into the state of weakness and debasement from which it had been rescued by the exertions of Basil.

SPAIN DURING THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.
A. D. 800—998.

On the contrary, the increased extent and power of the new kingdom formed by the Christians in Spain, becomes, from that epoch, peculiarly remarkable. Ever since their first endeavors, under Pelagio and Alfonso I, successfully to struggle against the fierce invaders of their country, they almost constantly gained new advantages; but it is chiefly to the ninth age that the splendor of their heroical times ought to be referred. Their noble ardor and natural bravery, continually stimulated by obstacles, rose now to a full display of their energies, and, whilst the Moors began to be enervated by a long possession of wealth and a fine climate, thirst after glory united with religious zeal produced among the Christians uninterrupted wonders in point of courage and virtue.

In the first rank of great and conspicuous men who flourished at that time, must be placed Kings Alfonso II and Ramirus I, both of whom conquered the Saracens in many battles, and greatly enlarged the Christian territory. Still more brilliant were the achievements of Alfonso III, surnamed *the Great*, during his long reign of about fifty years, from 862 to 912. He first employed himself in vindicating his rights to the throne against different competitors. This being accomplished, he attacked the Moors, and spreading terror among them by the rapidity of his marches, so often overthrew their armies in various campaigns, that he repeatedly compelled them to sue for peace.

He was obliged to desist from war for a time, in order to suppress conspiracies that had been formed against him in his own family. Alfonso quelled them all by his activity and prudence, but dishonored himself on this occasion by an act that savored more of cruelty than of justice. Having discovered that his four brothers were at the head

of one of these conspiracies, besides confining them to a prison, he caused their eyes to be plucked out: a sort of punishment, which, although frequently inflicted at that period on criminals of state, had in itself, especially in this circumstance, something inhuman and shocking.

Alfonso, being thus delivered from all foreign and domestic enemies, devoted his time to the improvement of his kingdom of Asturias and Oviedo. By this means, he regained the affection of his people, but not that of his family. Whilst a new war with the Saracens was affording him an occasion of new triumphs, another conspiracy at home recalled him from the pursuit of his conquests, and, though opposed by this warlike prince, at first with some success, finally compelled him to resign the sovereign power in favor of his two sons (A. D. 911). Still, he requested that some troops should be left to his command, to go and attack the Moors once more before his death. Having obtained his request, he made an irruption upon their territory, and returned loaded with spoils. This was the last of his exploits. He died in the following year, after a reign almost continually agitated both by domestic dissensions and by foreign wars.

Alfonso the Great being no longer on the throne, the success of military expeditions was sometimes on the side of the Christians, sometimes on that of the Saracens, and, for a long period, nearly equal on both sides. In the year 921, the former were entirely defeated at Jonquera by the Arabian monarch Abderame III; but in their turn, under the conduct of King Ramirus II, they gained a complete victory at Simancas, in 939; on which occasion eighty thousand Mussulmen are said to have lost their lives.

This bloody defeat, and others which followed, did not prevent Abderame from raising his kingdom to a degree of splendor which perhaps it had never attained before. Being a skilful politician as well as a brave general, sometimes victorious, frequently conquered, but always

great, whether in peace or war, he ever knew how to improve his success and repair his losses. Notwithstanding the obstinate warfare in which he was engaged, and the great expenses which he must have incurred to support his armies, he displayed at court such magnificence as would appear incredible, were it not unanimously testified by contemporary historians. His palaces, his gardens, and his various monuments were splendid. Like two of his predecessors of the same name, and even more than they, he protected the arts and sciences; established celebrated schools, especially of medicine; attracted to his court the ablest physicians, architects, astronomers and poets of his age and nation; and rendered Cordova, his capital, the centre of industry and learning. If we give credit to Arabian authors, this city contained 213,000 houses, 85,000 stores, 600 mosques, 900 public baths, 70 libraries, and 17 large institutions for the instruction of youth.

Abderame, having the reputation of a great love for justice, and such other moral qualities as may absolutely be found in a false religion, went through a long reign, in a manner which secured to him the esteem and confidence of his very enemies. But nothing perhaps so well proves the greatness and superiority of his mind, as the following note found among his papers after his death: "I have been caliph for fifty years, and have enjoyed all that men can possibly desire here on earth. Being desirous to know the number of the days in which, during this long space of time, my heart was truly satisfied, I found it, upon exact enumeration, to amount to fourteen only. Mortals, learn from me how to appreciate worldly grandeur and this transitory life."

Abderame III died in 961, at the age of seventy-two years. The prosperous effects of his government continued to be felt under his first successors, owing chiefly to the exertions of their prime-minister, Mahomet Almanzor, whose fidelity was equal to his courage, and who

always remained satisfied with an inferior rank, although he might have occupied the first with the consent of his nation. This famous warrior invaded, it is said, fifty-two times the Christian territory, and generally returned triumphant and loaded with booty.

At first, he met with an invincible opponent in the person of Count Fernando Gonzales, the chief founder of the sovereignty of Castile, and one of the greatest men of an age which produced in Spain so many heroes. Most unfortunately for the Christians, Gonzales died in the year 979, twenty years before Almanzor. The undaunted Moor determined then, not only to repair his late defeats by new efforts and new invasions, but also to effect, if possible, the final overthrow of the Christians. If they commonly found him a kind and generous conqueror, they never experienced a more terrible enemy. He ravaged their dominions, attacked their armies separately, and defeated them all, notwithstanding their courageous resistance.

Of all his victories, the most splendid and glorious was that which he gained, in the year 995, against King Bermudes II. This prince had just mustered great forces, in order to stem the destructive torrent. Although afflicted with the gout, he put himself at their head, and from his litter gave the signal for battle. The Christians, animated by the presence of their sovereign, and by the consideration of their religion, their liberty and their lives, for which they were going to fight, attacked the Saracens with irresistible fury, routed them on all sides, and obliged them to flee in great disorder. Almanzor did, on that occasion, nearly the same that is related of Julius Cæsar.* Dismounting from his horse, he lay upon the ground, and cried out that he preferred to be either trodden under foot by the fugitives or slain by the conquerors, rather than outlive his glory. The sight of this great

* In the battle of Munda (Spain), against the sons of Pompey (B. C. 45).

man in such imminent danger made his soldiers ashamed of abandoning him, and inspired them with fresh courage. Rallying around their general, they rushed with him against the pursuers, whom the anticipation of victory had rendered too confident; the Christians were terrified in their turn, and fled, yielding the victory to their intrepid and obstinate enemies.

After this, Almanzor, with little or no difficulty, overran the whole province, and taking, ransacking or burning the cities, pursued the vanquished as far as the mountains of Asturias, which had been their first asylum nearly three hundred years before. He was disposed to carry his conquests still farther, had not a dreadful plague broken out among his soldiers, which destroyed a considerable part of his army and forced him to retire in great haste. When he returned with fresh troops, he found that the Christian princes of the different parts of Spain had now united their forces against the common enemy. They stopped his victorious march at Medina Cæli, or Calacanasor, in Castile (A. D. 998). The battle, upon which such great interests depended, was begun with equal animosity on both sides, and lasted the whole day. The following morning the Christians prepared to recommence the attack, but soon perceived that the Moors had retreated. Almanzor, frightened at the greatness of his loss, which amounted to 100,000 men, dismissed his surviving soldiers, fled in despair to Medina, and there put an end to his life by starvation.

With Mahomet Almanzor fell the splendor of the Arabian empire in Spain. His death was soon followed by a series of feuds and civil wars among the Arabs, which distracted their monarchy, and dismembered it into eight or nine petty kingdoms. This permitted the Christians, not only to recover entirely from their recent losses, but even to found and solidly establish four kingdoms in the north of the peninsula, viz., Leon including the more ancient kingdom of Asturias and Oviedo, Navarre, Arragon

and Castile. These two, though the last in order of time, soon became the most powerful of the four, and afterwards formed by their reunion the present kingdom of Spain.

ENGLAND DURING THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.
A. D. 800—1016.

Among the states of modern Europe, none experienced during the middle ages more vicissitudes and revolutions than England. Its conquest by the Anglo-Saxons, and the establishment of the Heptarchy, have been already mentioned. As long as any district remained in the island, that might be easily subdued, the Saxon kings lived together in harmony, each one being content with his dominions, or extending them only at the expense of their common foes. Afterwards, they turned their arms against one another, and, by mutually weakening themselves, gave occasion to the ruin of the Heptarchy.

Egbert, the apparent heir to the crown of Wessex, had been first compelled by a strong party to leave the shores of England, and to take refuge at the court of Charlemagne. He served three years in the armies of that emperor, and spent the period of his exile in acquiring a proficiency in the science of war and of government. Charles spared no pains in improving the noble and promising qualities of the British prince, and in every important transaction wished to have him near his person. He had taken him along in his last journey to Rome, when Egbert was informed of the death of his competitor, and of other favorable circumstances, which recalled him to his native country.

The royal exile lost no time, but, taking leave of the French monarch, who loaded him with marks of affection and esteem, returned to England, where his claim was unanimously acknowledged by the West-Saxon lords. Being crowned with universal applause king of Wessex,

in the year 801, he devoted the commencement of his reign to the cultivation of peace; but, from the time when he first unsheathed the sword against the Britons of Wales, each succeeding year was marked by new victories and conquests. The Britons were subdued; then the feeble kingdoms of Essex, Kent, and others shared the same fate; and before 830, Egbert had extended his authority over the greater part of the island.

Scarcely however had he attained this superiority among the native princes, when he saw himself attacked by a foreign and most dangerous enemy. At this period, Denmark was the birth-place of a race of men who spent the best portion of their lives on the sea, either because they were compelled to leave their country which was too thickly inhabited, or because they preferred the fruits of rapine to those of industry. Whilst the Normans, their countrymen, laid waste the coasts of France and Spain, the Danes directed their attempts against the British isles. Their first descents, it is true, had no great effect, and produced temporary alarm, rather than permanent uneasiness. But, towards the close of the reign of Egbert, the numbers of the pirates perpetually increased, and their visits being annually renewed, took a much more alarming aspect. In 833, Egbert himself had the mortification to see his West-Saxons defeated by the invaders. Convinced of the necessity of adopting stronger measures, he summoned all his vassals around him, and waited in anxious suspense for the next descent of the enemy. Success crowned his efforts, and a decisive though bloody victory compelled the Danes to take refuge in their ships. This was the last exploit of Egbert, who died within a short time (A. D. 836), after a prosperous reign of about thirty-five years.

His death, and the pacific disposition of his son Ethelwulf, emboldened the barbarians to renew their invasions. Redoubled exertions were made, on the one side for the attack, and on the other for the defence, with a continual

alternation of success and misfortune. At last, a general battle was fought at Okeley (A. D. 851), in which the Danes were so completely overthrown, that their loss is said to have been greater than they had ever sustained in any age or country. They appeared to be disheartened by so severe a defeat, and respected, for a time, the shores of England. But their loss seemed only to urge them to make more extensive preparations for subsequent attacks. After the death of Ethelwulf, and under his four sons, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred and Alfred, all of whom reigned successively, those undaunted pirates renewed their efforts and inroads with fresh and incessant fury. In spite of many severe losses which they again suffered, they returned to the charge so often and so repeatedly, as finally to take possession, in a few years, of a great part of the island.

Such was the state of Great Britain, when Alfred, the last of the four brothers just mentioned, ascended the throne in 871. No reign ever commenced with more unfavorable auspices. The Saxon prince had scarcely any troops to oppose the invaders, and found himself compelled to enter into a treaty with them, by which he was left in possession of Wessex and a few other districts, whilst they kept the better part of the country for themselves. Nor even did this arrangement last long. Repeated attacks of the Danes forced Alfred to abandon for a time the whole of his dominions to their rapacity, and retire into a small island situated in a morass between two rivers. Here he submitted to his humble lot with piety and resignation, in hope of better times. Being one day buried in deep reflection on the miseries of his country, he happened to let some cakes burn which the wife of the herdsman with whom he lodged had committed to his care. She reproached him severely, telling him he was more ready to eat than to earn his bread. On another occasion, the pious king did not hesitate to give one-half of the only loaf that remained in the place to a

poor and needy traveller: a truly charitable action, which the providence of God shortly afterwards rewarded by the arrival of a large supply of provisions.

In the mean time, the Danes spread terror throughout the whole country, which they plundered and laid waste, with almost no resistance. However, one of their parties was entirely defeated in 878, by the earl of Devonshire, who killed their general Ubbo with twelve hundred of his followers. This revived the courage of the Saxons, and Alfred having now quitted his retreat, a multitude of brave warriors flocked to his standard, ready to shed their blood for his defence and the independence of the realm. The king immediately marched out with them against the main body of the Danes, who, on their side, advanced with hasty steps to meet him on the field of battle.

As the armies approached, they uttered shouts of mutual defiance, and, after the first discharge of their missile weapons, came to a close and sanguinary engagement. The animosity of the two nations, the efforts of their leaders, the fluctuations of victory, can be more easily imagined than expressed. The Danes displayed a valor worthy of their former renown; the Saxons were stimulated by honor, shame, and every motive that can influence the heart of man. At length, their intrepidity bore down all opposition; the Northmen, after suffering a tremendous slaughter, fled to their camp, where being pursued and closely surrounded, they consented to capitulate. The terms imposed on them by the conqueror were, that they should either leave the island, or embrace the laws of Christianity; and if they became Christians, that they should quit the kingdom of Wessex, and confine themselves to their former settlements in other parts of England. All this appears to have been at the time faithfully executed.

Alfred being now in a state of comparative tranquillity, set himself about repairing the damages occasioned by war, and providing against future disasters. The army,

fortifications and navy claimed his first care. Bodies of regular troops were organized for the defence of his kingdom, especially along the coast; castles were built in places the best fitted to prevent the landing, or to impede the progress of an enemy; and a considerable fleet was equipped, which, within a few years, obtained numerous triumphs over the pirates: so that Alfred may be regarded as the real founder of the naval and military glory of Great Britain.

He next turned his attention to the improvement and civilization of his people. In order to check the spirit of disorder and anarchy which, during the long period of barbarian invasion, had become prevalent throughout the realm, the king restored and enlarged the salutary institutions of his predecessors, and from ancient statutes, composed a code of law adapted to the present circumstances. But, as legislative enactments are of little avail, unless well observed in the community, he insured their execution by his constant vigilance and firmness. Particularly attentive to the proceedings of the courts of judicature, he frequently revised them himself, and receiving the appeals of all injured persons, inflicted severe though proportionate penalties on all ignorant, negligent or iniquitous judges. This severity produced the most beneficial result; magistrates were taught to become more learned and more conscientious; whilst murder, theft and other crimes, being sure to meet with due punishment, were rendered as rare as they had been common before. So exact was the observance of the laws, that, according to the unanimous assertion of English historians, if a traveller lost his purse on the road, he would the next day find it untouched; and some relate besides, that golden bracelets having been suspended on the high road, nobody ventured to steal so valuable an object.

Alfred was also the restorer of literature and learning, which had considerably suffered during the late wars. With the assistance of distinguished scholars of his own

and foreign countries, whom he invited to his court, he not only founded the university of Oxford, but likewise opened schools in many other places for the instruction of his subjects. He himself gave to all the example of application to study, in which he succeeded so well, that several good works were either composed by him, or translated from the Latin into the Saxon tongue. Nor were these the only services that Alfred rendered to his people. He also encouraged agriculture, commerce, and all necessary or useful arts; applying himself above all to restore the salutary influence of religion, and to revive piety around him both by word and example. In fact, the domestic life of this admirable prince was as well regulated as his public conduct, and a proper management of his time enabled him perfectly to fulfil all his duties. Each day, he gave eight hours to the care of his kingdom, eight to study and works of piety or charity, and the other eight to sleep and necessary recreation. As the use of watches and clocks as we have them at present, was not yet known, he employed for the division of the day, six wax candles, each one of which burnt during four hours, and his chaplains informed him when each one was extinguished.

After many years of peace, Alfred was attacked by those same Normans, who had so long and so often desolated the coasts of France. He opposed them with superior ability, defeated them by land and sea, and, more successful than the French kings, delivered his kingdom from those adventurers. Shortly after, he died, full of glory and all sorts of merits (A. D. 900), having lived fifty-one, and reigned twenty-nine years.

With the name of Alfred posterity has associated the epithet of *Great;* which indeed few princes have equally deserved for courage in danger and wisdom in government. Whilst many other kings of England are chiefly known in history by their actions in the field of battle, it is the praise of Alfred, that he was not merely a warrior,

but also the patron of learning and the legislator of his people. The celebrated Henry Spelman, filled with a sort of enthusiasm at the recollection of this illustrious king, speaks of him thus: "O Alfred, the wonder and prodigy of all ages! If we reflect on his piety, we will be inclined to believe that he always lived in retirement and solitude; if we recollect his warlike exploits, we will judge that he never departed from the camps; if we call to mind his learning and writings, we will imagine that he spent his whole life in a literary institution; if we direct our attention to his wise administration and wholesome laws, it will seem that these had been his only study and employment."*

Alfred was succeeded on the throne by his son Edward. In legislation and literary merit, Edward was much inferior to his father; but he surpassed him in the magnitude of his conquests. During the whole of his reign (900—924), there were but few intervals free from war against the Danes. He gained many victories over them, and, by the subjugation of various provinces, acquired more real power than had ever been possessed by his predecessors. All the tribes from Northumbria to the channel owned his sway; the kings of the Scots and the princes of Wales acknowledged him as their lord, or paid him tribute; and the other nations in the island eagerly solicited his friendship.

Athelstan, Edward's eldest son and successor (924—940), pursued the same line of policy. By his unceasing efforts, the influence of the British and Danish chieftains disappeared in England during the remainder of his reign. All the provinces originally subdued and colonized by the different Saxon tribes, became united under the same crown; and the celebrated battle of Brunanburg in Northumbria (A. D. 937), confirmed the ascendency of

* See, on the reign and qualifications of Alfred, besides civil historians, a very learned, extensive and interesting note of Alban Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints*, under the 28th of October.

Athelstan. He thus completed the work commenced by his forefathers, and to him chiefly belongs the glory of having established what has ever since been called the Kingdom of England.

This happy state of Great Britain was however soon disturbed by new storms, more furious and lasting than had ever been experienced before, most of the following monarchs, until the year 1016, being far from possessing the industry or prudence of Alfred, Edward and Athelstan. The Danes reappeared with fresh forces, and so perseveringly carried on their depredations, that, with perhaps the solitary exception of the reign of Edgard (959—975), which was peaceful and prosperous, England presented nothing but almost uninterrupted scenes of destruction, famine, pestilence, war and revolution.

FRANCE AND GERMANY IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

A. D. 912—1024.

Such had been also, for a long time the case with France, the conquest of which was the ambition of the terrible men of the north. Although repelled with great loss from the walls of Paris in 886, they persevered in their course of piracy, under the conduct of Rollo, one of the greatest warriors of that iron-age. At length, King Charles the Simple consented to give up to them, on the condition of vassalage, the north of France, which thus became their permanent property about the year 912, and took from them the name of Normandy. This cession proved indeed most beneficial to the kingdom, and to the Normans themselves, who, without renouncing their warlike spirit, abandoned their predatory habits, and adopted those of a civilized and Christian life; but it did not stop the decline nor prevent the downfall of the dynasty of Charlemagne. The same year, 912, beheld the imperial sceptre pass from his family into the hands of the German lords, whilst his successors on the French throne,

for want either of talent or firmness, or of sufficient authority, were little respected in their own dominions and residence. The kingdom was shamefully parcelled out; as it were, between themselves and the great vassals of the crown, who, being frequently more powerful than the sovereign, became mere nominal subjects, and, refused to obey his orders when they appeared to conflict with their supposed interest or caprice; whereas they freely waged war against one another, with the help of their own respective subjects.*

Such was the wretched condition of France and of its sovereigns during the tenth century. In fine, after the demise of Louis V, who died without issue, the French lords refused to acknowledge as his successor, his uncle Charles, duke of Lorraine, who had lately submitted himself in the quality of a vassal, to the German emperor. They offered the sceptre to Hugh-Capet, duke of France, as being the most worthy of it for his royal qualities and the great power he already enjoyed (A. D. 987). In vain did Charles, at the head of an army, attempt to maintain his claims to the throne; Hugh, having popular favor on his side, baffled all his measures and remained in possession of the sovereign power.

His reign lasted nine years, the greater part of which he spent in keeping his vassals and subjects within the bounds of respect and duty, as well by his prudence and moderation, as by multiplied victories. His wisdom still more appeared in his successful efforts to establish a regular mode of succession to the throne. Instead of dividing the kingdom among his sons, as had been so often and so imprudently done before, he, with the consent of the nation, ordered that Robert, the eldest, should be his only successor. The like was done after him at every new accession, and this practice was, by the men of that

* The great vassals were six in number, viz. the three dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and France properly so called; and the three earls of Flanders, Champagne and Toulouse.

age and country, deemed so important, that it became one of the fundamental laws of the French monarchy.

The case was just the reverse in Germany. Ever since the empire was transferred from the French to the German princes, from hereditary it had become elective. The sceptre was first offered to Otho, duke of Saxony, who thought proper, on account of his advanced age, to decline the honor, and recommended Conrad, duke of Franconia, though his personal enemy, to the choice of the electors.* Conrad therefore was appointed, and reigned seven years (912–919). When he found himself drawing near the end of his life, he, with equal generosity, proposed for his successor, Henry, the son of Otho, as being the best fitted to rule the state in those turbulent times.

Henry, surnamed *the Fowler*, on account of his fondness for hunting, was in truth well qualified to wear a crown, and fully answered public expectation. He delivered Germany from the ravages of the surrounding tribes, especially those of the Hungarians, a fierce and warlike people of Scythian descent, whose only delight was in pillage and destruction. The emperor succeeded in uniting all the German forces against them, and the effect of this reunion was the entire defeat of the Hungarians in two tremendous battles fought near Mersburg (A. D. 920 and 934), in one of which they lost 80,000, and in the other 40,000 men.

Henry was endeavoring at the same time, to promote, by every means in his power, the safety and happiness of his people. He organized a militia, inured the nobility to the hardships of war, fortified the towns, rescued the country from banditti and robbers, and took proper

* The number of the electors did not continue always the same. By the Emperor Charles IV, in 1356, it was reduced to seven, viz., the archbishops of Mentz, Triers and Cologne; the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the count Palatin, and the marquis of Brandeberg: to whom were subsequently added the dukes of Hanover and Bavaria.

measures to extend the wholesome influence of religion throughout all his dominions. The wisdom of his laws against vice and disorder was not less conspicuous than the multitude of his exploits against foreign enemies. This great prince died in 936, having lived sixty, and reigned seventeen years.

Otho I, his eldest son, was chosen to succeed him in the empire, not however without much opposition from certain parties, and many obstacles, all of which he overcame by his prudence, firmness and activity. He was equally successful in different wars against the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and the Italian princes. His reign lasted thirty-seven years, during which he gave such proofs of unparalleled magnificence, generosity, valor, wisdom, religion and justice, as to deserve, notwithstanding some failings in the exercise of his power, the praise of impartial posterity.

After him, the German throne was successively occupied, from 973 to 1002, by his son and grandson, both of the same name; and from 1002 to 1024, by their relative Henry II, or St. Henry, under whom Germany again enjoyed all the advantages that can be expected from a good, wise and virtuous sovereign. Some years before he died, he had wished to renounce all earthly grandeur, and, applying to Richard, abbot of St. Vannes in Lorraine, begged admittance into the monastery. The holy abbot, not to afflict him by a stern denial, received his vow of obedience, but immediately commanded him, in virtue of it, to reassume the government of the empire for the honor of God and the good of his people; to which the pious monarch humbly, though reluctantly, submitted. As he left no children, the imperial sceptre passed a second time into the hands of the Franconian dukes, and, after a few reigns, devolved on the princes of the house of Suabia.

EASTERN NATIONS IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.—A. D. 960—1040.

In the meantime, the Greek empire had shone with great splendor under three successive emperors, Nicephorus Phocas, John Zimisces and Basil II, the first of whom began to reign in 963. He was born of an illustrious family in Constantinople, and from his youth distinguished himself in the army. Having become a general, he succeeded, by his persevering efforts and vigilance united with valor, in expelling the Saracens from the important island of Crete, of which they had been masters one hundred and thirty-five years (A. D. 960). The troops, to whom he was much endeared, raised him to the throne, after the death of Romanus II. He then extended his projects, and, attacking the Saracens of Asia with unrelenting vigor, wrested from them many towns and several provinces, which he reunited to the empire.

To these splendid achievements, the zeal of Nicephorus for military discipline contributed as much as his personal bravery. He kept his soldiers within the strict bounds of duty by the most efficacious of all means, that of example, and, being as austere for himself as for the humblest individual in the army, easily induced others to be as patient and courageous as himself. Unfortunately, so great a warrior, the terror of all the enemies around, was also, by his avarice and exactions, the terror of his own subjects. Augmenting the taxes, and altering the coins, he seemed obstinately resolved to make all the riches of the nation pass into his coffers. Hence it happened that many officers, even among those who had been most sincerely attached to him, being now exasperated by his injustice and tyranny, secretly conspired against his life. John Zimisces, their leader, and five others, were introduced during the night in a basket, through a window of the apartment in which Nicephorus was asleep. He

awoke just to see the daggers directed against his breast. The conspirators dragged him from his couch, and stabbed him at the feet of Zimisces, whom they proclaimed emperor in his place (A. D. 969).

If heroic fortitude and courage; if the habitual practice of mildness, justice, generosity, in a word, of all public and private virtues, ever could obliterate a crime, this should be the case for Zimisces, who was undoubtedly one of the greatest among the successors of Constantine. The Greek historians seem to vie with each other in bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, and even the annals of northern nations have praised this illustrious emperor, who stopped their warlike and victorious hordes. For, it was at this juncture, that a formidable army of Rossi or Russians, having, under the conduct of their Duke Wenceslas, crossed the Danube, made an irruption into Bulgaria and Thrace, which they ravaged as far as Adrianople. At first, Zimisces sent his ablest generals against them; afterwards, marching in person, he expelled the invaders from the towns and fortresses which they had taken, and driving all their detachments before him, at length forced them to a general engagement, near the city of Dorostolis, on the banks of the Danube.

The multitude and natural bravery of the Russians on one side, and the valor and skill of the imperial legions on the other, rendered this battle one of the most obstinate and terrible in the annals of war. So great was the animosity of the combatants, that the advantage is said to have successively passed from one army to the other not fewer than twelve times. The contest thus raged with unabated fury from morning until late in the evening, when the Russians began to waver, and Zimisces, redoubling his efforts, gained at last a complete victory. Three or four more battles, fought within a short time, saw him equally victorious, and almost destroyed the Russian forces. Being now deprived of all resource, the remains of their army came to the determination of abandoning all

their designs of conquest, and of retracing their steps to their own country. But, whilst they were retreating, another barbarous tribe surprised them in an ambuscade, and mercilessly put them all to the sword (A. D. 971).

Zimisces, on the contrary, returned in triumph to Constantinople, where he was received with extraordinary joy and magnificence. Shortly after, he marched against the eastern Saracens, who had availed themselves of his absence, to reconquer many places in Asia. The arrival of Zimisces once more changed the state of affairs: wherever he appeared, towns and fortresses were either compelled by force or induced by promises to surrender. When he returned from this glorious expedition, as he was passing through a tract of land extremely rich, beautiful, and adorned with palaces, he was told that all these belonged to his minister Basil. "Behold," he exclaimed, "it is then to enrich *one* man, that the state is exhausted, that the armies undergo so many hardships; that soldiers, officers, emperors, expose their lives and shed their blood in battles!" These words were, by perfidious friends, related to the minister, who, fearing an inquiry into his administration, determined to avoid, by the commission of a new crime, the disgrace with which he was threatened, and bribed the cup-bearer of the emperor to poison this excellent prince. The fatal draught being tendered and taken, Zimisces felt an inward fire, which soon manifested itself outwardly by carbuncles and a vomiting of blood. However, the sight of approaching death did not terrify his great soul: he spent his last days in preparing, by various pious exercises, to appear before the tribunal of God, and, after forbidding inquiries to be made about the author of his death, terminated, with the sentiments of an humble penitent, a career which, with the exception of one day, had been that of a Christian hero (A. D. 975).

After him, the throne was filled by two brothers and descendants of Basil the Macedonian, Basil II and Con-

stantine VIII. They reigned together and equally enjoyed the honors of the purple, but the exercise of the supreme authority was left entirely to Basil, who far surpassed his brother in genius, ability and application to public affairs. He skilfully extricated himself from various rebellions and civil wars excited in the beginning of his reign by some discontented generals. He then directed all his energies against the Bulgarians, who had been so long a match for the empire. Their courageous resistance protracted the war probably much longer than had been anticipated, a series of continual attacks and bloody engagements being hardly sufficient to subdue that nation and its leaders, who defended themselves with truly heroical fortitude: but so obstinately, and, it may be said, so cruelly bent was Basil on the entire reduction of Bulgaria, that it finally passed under his sway, with all the treasures which the Bulgarians had amassed, during three hundred years, by war and pillage.

In the East also, Basil extended considerably the boundaries of the empire. Even age could not extinguish his martial spirit; and he was actually preparing for an expedition against the Saracens of Sicily, when a violent fever carried him off in the sixty-eighth year of his life, and the fifty-first of his reign (A. D. 1025). This long interval had indeed been illustrated by many successful wars and by a firm administration; but unfortunately, Basil II did not know how to win the affection and esteem of his subjects. Whilst his armies were every where victorious, the people were groaning under heavy taxes, and religion and humanity often condemned the actions of the monarch. The fifty years immediately following his decease beheld the rapid succession of fifteen emperors, most of them unworthy of notice.

In the meantime, the vast monarchy founded by the Arabs had been going to decay. The indolence of the caliph of Bagdad encouraged the ambition of governors in different provinces to withdraw their allegiance from

him, and to proclaim their own authority. In this manner were Africa and Persia gradually severed from the sway of the Abassides. Towards the end of the tenth century, they lost also both Palestine and Egypt, where the Fatimites (real or pretended descendants of Fatima, a daughter of Mahomet) established their domination, under the venerated title of caliphs (A. D. 972).

Against these and other invaders, the caliphs of Bagdad called to their assistance some of the Turkish tribes stationed in the neighborhood of the Caspian sea; tribes famous for their exploits under their leader Seldjuk. At first, the caliphs had reason to applaud themselves for this measure. Those warlike tribes fought with great valor and success against the enemies of the reigning dynasty, and re-established its authority in several provinces; but, towards the year 1040, they began to make conquests for themselves. Animated by the favorable result of their first attempts, they spread their wandering hordes over Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor, and, defeating the Greek emperor Romanus Diogenes in a great battle, took possession of those rich countries, which formed the renowned though short-lived empire of the Seljukian Turks. In a few years, Edessa, Jerusalem, Antioch, Tarsus and Nicea were subdued by them, and remained in their power until the time of the Crusades.

DANISH KINGS IN ENGLAND—SAXON LINE RESTORED.

A. D. 1016—1066.

The bloody struggle of the Anglo-Saxons against the Danes, their obstinate enemies, had now lasted two hundred years, when Edmund, surnamed *Ironside* (from his great bodily strength), came to the throne of England in 1016. This prince seemed destined to restore the independence of his country, having, within the short space of six months, fought no fewer than five battles, and

gained nearly as many victories over the Danish King Canute. But having been, through the perfidy or cowardice of a certain Count Edric, entirely defeated in the fifth battle, the noblemen of both parties, equally tired of this sanguinary warfare, obliged their sovereigns to come to a compromise, and divide the kingdom among themselves. Edmund died within a month after this treaty of pacification, and left Canute in possession of all England.

The Saxons had no reason to repent for submitting to this foreign prince. No sooner did Canute see himself secure on the throne, than he became, from a turbulent warrior, a just and beneficent monarch. He often lamented the bloodshed and misery which the Danish war had inflicted on the natives, and considered it his bounden duty to compensate their sufferings by a mild and equitable administration. He always treated them with kindness, and, placing the two nations on a footing of equality, admitted them alike to offices of trust and emolument. By this means, he won the affection of all, even of his English subjects; whilst he also gained their admiration and esteem by his Christian virtues and sincere piety, of which he gave a striking proof on the following occasion:

Being one day near the sea-shore, his courtiers, to flatter him, said that he was the king of kings, the master of both earth and sea. Canute took this opportunity to show how much he despised their foolish flattery. Sitting down, and addressing himself to the tide which was advancing: "I am thy master," he exclaimed; "mine also is the earth: I command thee, therefore, to stay where thou art, and not to move further and wet my feet." All present thought the king mad, to imagine that the sea was going to obey his orders: it continued to advance, and at length came to the feet of the monarch. Turning to his flatterers, he said: "You see how far I am from being the master of all things. Learn hence that the power of kings is very inconsiderable. There is indeed no other king

than Almighty God, by whom alone the heavens, the earth and the sea are governed." He rose at these words, went to the church of Winchester, and taking the crown from his head, placed it on the great crucifix in the cathedral, and never more wore it even at public ceremonies.

Canute was King not only of England, but of Denmark also, and moreover acquired and exercised a sort of jurisdiction over the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Welsh and the Scots. This vast extent of dominion rendered him one of the mightiest monarchs in Europe, whilst his truly royal qualities gained him universal respect from foreign princes. He died after a glorious reign of eighteen years (A. D. 1035). His kingdoms were divided among his three sons, two of whom successively reigned in England, namely, Harold and Hardecanute. After their death, the English having determined to restore the Saxon line of their monarchs, Edward, a brother to Edmund Ironside, was recalled from Normandy, where he had spent many years in exile, and, with general applause, ascended the throne of his fathers (A. D. 1042).

If we estimate, as D. Lingard observes, the character of a sovereign by the test of popular affection, we must rank Edward among the best of princes. Whilst alive, the goodness of his heart, which he had improved in the time of banishment, was adored by his subjects; and, after death, his memory was bequeathed as an object of veneration to posterity. The blessings of his reign are the constant theme of ancient English writers; not that he displayed any of those brilliant qualities which attract the admiration of the world, while they inflict misery on the human race: but he exhibited the interesting spectacle of a king negligent of his private interests, and totally devoted to the welfare of his people. To ward off foreign aggression, and restore the dominion of laws, to preserve peace, and promote religion, were the constant objects of his solicitude. He was pious, kind and compassionate, the protector of the weak, and the father of the poor;

more willing to give than to receive, more inclined to pardon than to punish, and better pleased to bestow his own revenues in acts of charity, than profit by the labors of his subjects.

Edward published a new compilation of the statutes of his Saxon predecessors, among which those favorable to the people held the first rank. Hence they were ever since called *the laws and customs of the good King Edward.* This truly good and excellent monarch died in the beginning of the year 1066, and was canonized, about a century after, by Pope Alexander III.

NORMANS IN ENGLAND.—WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.
A. D. 1066—1087.

By the death of King Edward, England was replunged into the miseries of war. As he had died without issue, the British sceptre was claimed by several competitors, among whom Harold, the chief of the English nobility, and William, duke of Normandy, were the most powerful. Setting aside the question which of the two was more entitled to the throne, both of them were worthy of it by their uncommon qualifications of body and mind, and, what was very singular, each one claimed it in virtue of the late king's will and appointment.

Whilst William prepared to prosecute, by arms, his claims or his pretensions, Harold, being already present in the kingdom, was the first proclaimed and acknowledged as its sovereign. But he had the misfortune to be opposed at the same time, not only by a foreign rival, but also by his own brother Tostig, in whom he experienced, for having been accessary to his exile during the preceding reign, a bitter and deadly enemy. Tostig visited Normandy, and arranged a plan of co-operation with the duke: having moreover sent deputies to the northern princes, he succeeded in obtaining the assistance of Hardrada, King of Norway. A gallant army in a fleet of three hundred

sail, unexpectedly appeared, landed without opposition, and subdued the province of Northumberland with York its capital. Harold, who was at that time awaiting the threatened descent of the Duke of Normandy, lost no time in marching against the Norwegians. He overtook them at Stamford Bridge, and completely foiled them in a bloody battle, in which both his perfidious brother and the Norwegian monarch were slain. The remnant of the vanquished were compelled to re-embark.

Almost simultaneously with this great victory, intelligence arrived that the Normans had just landed on the coast of Sussex. William, having at length completed his vast preparations for the invasion of England, crossed the channel with a fleet of at least nine hundred vessels, which carried an army still more formidable for the valor than for the number of the combatants. The duke set them an example of wonderful daring. At the very moment of the landing of his troops, happening to fall on the shore, and being afraid lest this should appear to weak minds a bad omen for the success of his enterprise, he cried out with admirable presence of mind: "I take possession of England; it belongs to me; I lay hold of it with both hands." At the receipt of the fatal news, Harold mustered his forces, and led them straight forward against the enemy. He had defeated the Norwegians on the 25th of September; on the 14th of the following month, he arrived in sight of the Normans, at a place called Senlac, nine miles from Hastings.

The next day, both armies prepared for battle. Harold posted his troops on the declivity of a hill in one compact body; William marshalled his host on the opposite eminence, and arranged with particular care the squadrons of his numerous cavalry, on which he principally rested his hope of success. After the usual discharge of arrows, the Norman knights fiercely advanced against their motionless opponents. The shock was dreadful; but the English at every point opposed a vigorous and successful

resistance, and their battle axe was so powerfully wielded, that the aggressors could not prevent their left wing from being thrown into confusion. Even a report was spread that William himself had fallen; and the whole army was beginning to waver, when the duke, riding along the line, exclaimed: "I am still alive, and, with the help of God, I shall gain the victory." This revived the courage of the Normans, and those among the English who had incautiously pursued the left wing too far, were intercepted and cut to pieces.

The combat having now recommenced with fresh animosity, William had recourse to a stratagem suggested to his mind by what had happened in the earlier part of the day. He ordered a division of his cavalry to feign flight; a considerable number of their opponents pursued them, and were instantly destroyed. This however, did not suffice to decide the bloody contest: the main body of the English obstinately maintained their position, and, by always opposing to the Normans a solid and impenetrable mass, bade defiance to all their efforts. The battle continued in this manner, with doubtful success, from nine in the morning till about sun-set, when Harold, who had, like William, constantly animated his troops by word and example, was shot by an arrow which penetrated to the brain. He instantly fell among heaps of the dead, and the knowledge of his fall broke the spirit of the surviving English: at dusk they fled in utter confusion, dispersed through the wood, and were pursued, with great slaughter, by their victorious enemy.

Such was the ever memorable battle of Hastings, which put an end to the Saxon line of monarchs, and placed the Norman dynasty on the throne of England. On the side of the conquerors, more than one-fourth of their army, which amounted to almost 60,000 men, were left on the field; the number of slain among the vanquished, although justly supposed to have been much greater, is unknown; all agree at least in pronouncing the victory of William

complete and decisive. After refreshing his army by a few days repose, and taking Dover, he marched straight to London. His unexpected presence spread terror and dismay among the people, the nobility and the clergy, who were there assembled. They however received him with expressions of congratulation, and made him a tender of the crown, which after a short pause he accepted.

From the best and most impartial historians it appears that the plan of William was that of a mild and moderate government. The first measures of his reign tended to sooth the feelings and to acquire the esteem of the English. Having, shortly after his coronation, made a tour through the kingdom, he every where scattered benefits around him, and graciously received the submission of his new subjects. The privileges of the citizens were rather increased, nor was any change attempted in their laws and customs, unless imperiously required by existing circumstances. It is true that, in order to secure their obedience, he built and garrisoned castles in various parts of the country, and granted valuable rewards to his Norman followers; but the former step was a precautionary measure which it would be unreasonable to blame in a conqueror; and the latter transaction appears to have been so far conducted according to the strict rules of justice, as to give to no Englishman any just cause of complaint.

These proceedings however displeased the natives, and William soon perceived that he had gained neither their favor nor confidence. As he had set out in the spring of 1067, to visit his continental dominions, the English, no longer awed by his presence, thought it a happy opportunity to obtain their freedom. Their feelings of aversion for a foreign yoke were now highly excited by the imprudence of the governors whom the Conqueror had left, and who, instead of adopting his system of conciliation, arrogantly oppressed the people; national animosity daily

increased, discontent became general, and rebellion seemed every where inevitable.

William, being informed of all this, returned to England with a secret determination to crush by severity, a people whom he could not gain by mildness. In fact, from this time forward, he laid a heavy hand upon his English subjects, and treated them with that rigor which he thought the right of conquest justified. He obliged them to extinguish their fires and candles at an early hour (eight o'clock) in the evening, the signal for which was given by a bell called the *curfew* (*couvre-feu*); nor were they permitted to rekindle their fires till the morning bell, which rang at four o'clock. His policy suffered no Englishman to hold any place of trust. By means of fines, land taxes, banishment, and sometimes capital executions for crimes of state, William had the disposal both of property and honors, and secured in his own hands the whole strength of the nation.

If these measures terrified some of the natives, others raised the standard of insurrection in different parts of the kingdom. But nothing could surprise William. His vigilance, firmness and activity disconcerted all the plans, or baffled all the measures of the insurgents; and his good fortune so constantly prevailed, that every attempt to ruin his power, served only to establish it more firmly. He maintained it with equal success against foreign enemies, the Scots, the Danes and the French. In fine, after having gloriously reigned during forty-one years in Normandy, and twenty-one in England, he died in 1087; odious indeed to many, on account of his severity, but still, in point of natural talents, of enterprising spirit, of political and military achievements, undoubtedly one of the first princes, and perhaps the most conspicuous sovereign of his age. His posterity, either in the right, or in the female line, has ever since occupied the throne of Great Britain.

NORMANS IN ITALY.—A. D. 1016—1089.

The subjugation of England was not the only conquest made by the Normans in the eleventh century; during the same period, other warriors of the same nation equally astonished Europe by their exploits in Italy. A little before the year 1016, forty Normans, returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, happened to stop at Salernum, a maritime town of Campania, at the very time when it was closely besieged by the Saracens. These pilgrims were men of remarkable size, warlike appearance and still greater courage. Having penetrated into the town, they asked for arms and horses, and, making a sudden sally against the besiegers, slew many of them, put the rest to flight, and by a signal victory obliged them to abandon the siege. Both the prince and the inhabitants of Salernum exceedingly admired their valor, loaded them with presents, and endeavored to retain such useful warriors in their country. But they refused, alleging that they had fought for no other end than the glory of God and the honor of his religion. However, the Italians prevailed upon them to carry to their countrymen different kinds of excellent fruit, as proofs of the fertility of the land, and an inducement to come to Italy.

To a warlike and enterprising people, proposals so flattering could not fail to be acceptable. Normans after Normans flocked to the peninsula, and, by defending it against its enemies and invaders, began to acquire in that delightful country rich and honorable settlements. Among these fortunate adventurers, there was a whole family of heroes, consisting of the twelve sons of a certain Norman lord, called Tancrede, who, with the help of some hundreds of their countrymen, performed most surprising exploits. Sometimes united with the Lombards and Italians against the Greeks, sometimes with the Greeks against the Saracens, they became a match for

all, defeated numerous armies, took well defended and fortified towns, and subdued extensive provinces.

Of these heroic brothers, the most illustrious were: William Iron-arm, who, by incredible exertions and courage, solidly established the Normans in Apulia (A D. 1043); Robert Guiscard, who stripped the Greeks of their last possessions in the same province (1080); and Roger, who expelled the Saracens for ever from Sicily (1089). All these conquered territories formed, when united, a powerful and flourishing state, which lasted upwards of one hundred years. During that interval, the Norman princes who ruled over it, continued to inflict severe losses on the emperors of Constantinople, but were themselves, in the end, obliged to yield to the emperors of Germany.

CHIVALRY, PARTICULARLY IN SPAIN.—RISE OF THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL.—A. D. 1045—1095.

THE age which immediately preceded the Crusades, seemed to have been eminently the age of chivalry properly so called. The order of chivalry was composed of Knights-Errant, who rode through all parts of the country, in complete armor, for the purpose of redressing grievances, and of protecting innocent, weak and afflicted persons against tyranny and oppression. Their origin may be traced to the reign of Charlemagne, or thereabouts; their decline must be referred to the twelfth century, which gave rise to many military orders, of far greater merit and celebrity than private knighthood; however, during the epoch of which we are now speaking, chivalry, notwithstanding the abuses that occasionally attended it, proved truly beneficial to humanity and social order in Europe, especially when there was question of defending Christians against infidels.

Owing to its peculiar state of constant warfare against the Moors, Christian Spain possessed numbers of those

generous knights ever ready to shed their blood in the cause of national glory, religion and justice. Among them, the foremost in heroic ardor and fortitude was the illustrious Rodriguez Diaz of Bivar, who, during the fifty last years of the eleventh century, did not cease to fight with wonderful success the enemies of his country. All Europe continually resounded with the fame of his prowess and repeated triumphs, of the battles he had fought, the victories he had won, the princes he had conquered, the towns he had subdued: exploits so much the more astonishing, as they were effected entirely by his personal exertions, and frequently performed without any assistance from his sovereign. His fame extended even to Asia; and the Mahometan king of Persia sent deputies to the Christian knight of Spain, to congratulate him upon his glorious achievements. The name of *Cid*, or *Seid* (lord), under which he is known in history as well as poetry, was given him for the first time by the ambassadors of five Moorish chieftains whom he had just defeated in a great battle.

It was chiefly with the help of this great warrior that King Alfonso VI. succeeded in the most important and difficult expedition as yet attempted by the Christians against the Moors. This prince cherished an ardent desire to reconquer Toledo, the ancient capital of the Goths, which had been in the power of their enemies for three hundred and seventy-two years, and which contained nearly three hundred thousand inhabitants. No sooner was his intention made known, than, from all parts of Spain and other states of Christendom, multitudes of warriors and knights flocked to the standards of the Spanish monarch, to share with him in this glorious enterprize. The siege was long and perilous, and the defence was not less vigorous than the attack. At length the bravery of the Saracens yielded to the valor of the Christians, and, in the spring of 1085, Toledo, with many other towns, surrendered to Alfonso, who directly made

it the capital of his kingdom and the seat of his residence, instead of Burgos, the chief city of old Castile.

Among the foreign knights who had come to unite their efforts with those of the Spaniards for the achievement of this great conquest, the most distinguished were Counts Raymond and Henry of Burgundy, of the royal family of the Capetians in France. In every battle, they displayed a valor worthy of their rank, and on every occasion evinced such noble feelings, as to attract general esteem, and particularly that of the Spanish king. In order to secure their subsequent services, Alfonso gave them his daughters in marriage, and loaded them with honors which time rather increased. The posterity of Raymond inherited the throne of Castile, and occupied it until it passed, by alliance, to the house of Austria, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Henry was invested with extensive power over the more western provinces, which had been taken from the Moors, and thus laid the foundation of the Portuguese monarchy, so called from Porto, its first capital (A. D. 1095). This new state, however, did not acquire the title of kingdom, until forty-four years later, when Alphonso Henriquez, the worthy son of Count Henry, having gloriously defeated five Saracen kings on the same day, was himself proclaimed king by his troops on the field of battle.

AFFAIR OF INVESTITURES.

During these merely civil revolutions in many parts of Christendom, transactions of a different nature engaged the public mind in Germany and Northern Italy. The custom had been introduced, in various places, and eagerly adopted by the German emperors, of putting the newly elected bishops and abbots in possession of their benefices, by giving them the ring and the crosier, the symbols of pastoral authority. As this ceremony, called *investiture*, seemed to imply the conferring of spiritual jurisdic-

tion by temporal princes, it was, after due examination, justly considered as an encroachment on the rights of the church. Not content, however, with exercising it, the emperor Henry IV carried on a shameful and most scandalous traffic in ecclesiastical dignities, bestowing them, not on worthy candidates, but on those who offered him the largest sums of money. Pope Gregory VII, inveighed against these crying abuses with ardent zeal and unabated constancy. But both his entreaties and expostulations were disregarded; and the wicked emperor, instead of amending his conduct, convened an assembly at Worms, in which, with a body of schismatical associates, he presumed to pass sentence of deposition against the Pontiff (A. D. 1076).

This outrageous act served only to increase the zeal of Gregory. He not only continued to govern the church with Apostolic vigor, but even thought that his duty required more than he had hitherto done. With the advice of a numerous council, and taking into consideration both the incorrigibleness of Henry and the repeated complaints of his oppressed subjects, he excommunicated him, and pronounced him fallen from his royal dignity; at the same time declaring the Germans no longer bound by their former oath of allegiance to him. Singular as the power may appear which Gregory then exercised, the general opinion of his cotemporaries admitted that such power lay within the sphere of papal jurisdiction, and it was supported by the civil and common jurisprudence of the times.*

* This point has been, from a variety of public and authentic documents, set in the clearest light by the learned and judicious author of a work recently published in Paris, entitled: "*Pouvoir du Pape au moyen age.*" It is likewise solidly proved by Count de Maistre (*Du Pape, livre* II, *ch.* X.); by Abbé Jager, (in his *Introduction to the life of Gregory VII*, translated from the German), etc. Nay more, it is expressly admitted by many celebrated Protestant writers, such as Leibnitz, *De Jure Supremalûs*, Pseffel, Fred. Eichorn, etc. and even by the infidels Bolingbroke and Voltaire. This alone must appear sufficient to vindicate the conduct of Pope Gregory with regard to the emperor Henry IV, and of some of his successors towards other sovereigns of the same stamp. See, moreover, Note H.

At the news of the sentence pronounced by the Pope, the lords and princes of Germany assembled in great numbers, in order to appoint another emperor in the place of Henry. The distressed monarch perceived the gathering storm, and saw no means of averting it but by a reconciliation with the See of Rome. He therefore departed in great haste for Italy, fully determined to effect this desired reconciliation on any terms. Gregory had left Rome, and advanced as far as Canosse, a castle of Lombardy, on his way to Germany, where he was expected by the princes. Henry, in a penitential garb, presented himself before the gates of the castle, humbly begging to be admitted into the presence of the Pontiff, acknowledging his guilt, and, with every mark of true repentance, expressing his readiness to make all the satisfaction in his power.

Gregory, who had more than once experienced the insincerity and inconstancy of the emperor, kept him, by way of trial, in suspense for three days: on the fourth day, he gave him an audience, received his submission, and absolved him on certain conditions. But the repentance of Henry did not last more than fifteen days. Having assembled a numerous army, he refused to comply with the terms which he had accepted, and resumed his former course of violence against church and state. At length the German lords, disgusted with the faithless and wicked monarch, proceeded to the election of another, and chose Rudolph, Duke of Suabia, for their sovereign. Still, Henry remained master of the empire, his competitor having perished in a battle near Mersburg, after three years of a disputed succession (A. D. 1080).

Elated with success, the conqueror marched at the head of his troops into Italy, and besieged Rome, which he took after a long siege, more however by bribery than by force of arms. He entered the Lateran palace, and endeavored to cause the excommunicated bishop of Ravenna, Guibert, to be declared Pope, under the name of Cle-

ment III. In the meantime, Gregory had retreated into the strong castle of St. Angelo, where he remained secure till the arrival of Robert Guiscard, the valiant leader of the Normans, who compelled the emperor to retire with his anti-pope. The lawful Pontiff was thus left master of the city; but, as party violence rendered it either unsafe or unpleasant for him to remain there, he removed first to Mount Cassino, and thence to Salerno, where he was taken dangerously ill. In his last moments, he uttered these words: "I have loved justice, and have hated iniquity; wherefore I die in a strange land;" after which he calmly expired, on the 25th of May, 1085.

Far different was the end of his violent persecutor. The obstinate perseverance of Henry in the schism kept up a strong opposition against him in Germany; so much so, that his own sons openly revolted, and obliged him to abdicate the crown. The dethroned monarch retired to Liege, where he died shortly after, like the ancient persecutors of the church, a prey to excessive grief. He had reigned about fifty years, and during that time, had been present in sixty-two battles, in most of which he was victorious. His exploits, his bravery, and his talents might have ranked him among the greatest emperors of Germany, had he not disgraced himself by his perfidy, and by yielding to detestable and unruly passions. The question of investitures was settled after his death: in the year 1122, the emperor Henry V agreed to resign the privilege of giving the ring and the crosier, and this transaction was solemnly confirmed by the first General Council of Lateran, in 1123.

REMARKS ON THE MIDDLE AGES.

The ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, are commonly called the *middle*, and, by a numerous class of writers, the *dark* ages. To know whether, or how far this second

appellation is correct, deserves a particular investigation, and will be the object of the following remarks.

In the first place, it must be confessed that, a short time after the reign of Charlemagne, ignorance began anew to make great progress in Europe, especially among nobles, many of whom, being exclusively addicted to the profession of arms, even boasted of their want of instruction and literary knowledge.* But never perhaps were more strenuous efforts made to keep alive the sacred flame of science, and promote the instruction of youth than were made by the Church at the period of which we are speaking.† Besides smaller schools for children in country parishes, there were in large cities, in monasteries, and in episcopal houses, different institutions in which a relish for study and learning was carefully preserved. In these, besides the Holy Scriptures and Christian doctrine, the students could learn what was then termed the seven liberal arts; Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music. Many schools of this kind are known to have existed in Italy, England, France, Germany, etc. such as those of Rome, Lyons, Paris, York, Oxford, Fuld, Ratisbon, Paderborn,‡

* Many deeds and legal instruments of those ages are found, which terminate thus: "And the aforesaid lord has declared that he did not know how to sign his name, owing to his being a nobleman."

† See the decrees of Popes Eugenius II, Leo IV, etc. in the councils of Rome, A. D. 826, 853, etc.;—the canons of the councils of Mentz and Chalons, A. D. 813; of Paris, 829; of Valence, 855; of Toul, 859, etc.—And the statutes of Theodulphe, Bishop of Orleans; of Herard, Archbishop of Tours; of Riculfus, Bishop of Soissons, about the same time, etc. Merely to quote one or two of these decrees; the Council of Toul, in the tenth canon, earnestly entreats princes and recommends to bishops to establish every where public schools, for the teaching of both sacred science and polite literature: and Theodulphe, Bishop of Orleans, expresses himself thus, in the 20th Art. of his 1*st Capitular:* "Let the priests establish schools in towns and villages for the instruction of children, and not refuse to receive and teach those who are personally addressed to them. But in so doing, let them require no salary, nor accept any thing but what may be voluntarily and charitably offered by the parents."

‡ In Paderbornensi ecclesiâ publica floruerunt studia, quandò ibi musici fuerunt, et Dialectici enituerunt, Rhetorici, clarique Grammatici. Ubi Mathematici claruerunt, et Astronomici habebantur, Physici atque

etc. They did not, it is true, possess men like St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, Fenelon and Bossuet, Newton and Leibnitz; yet it cannot be denied that they produced many learned writers and eminent scholars, who might have become models for posterity in point of literature and learning, had they enjoyed the number of books and other advantages which we now possess.

Whatever may be the boasted diffusion and depth of knowledge at the present day, it may certainly be doubted whether many persons could be found superior or equal in this respect to such men as Lupus, Abbot of Ferrieres, a writer of the ninth century, in whose treatises and letters all impartial critics acknowledge an immense fund of erudition; or St. Brunon, Archbishop of Cologne in the tenth century, whose biographers relate that there was no part of Latin and Greek literature, no branch of sacred and profane learning, with which he was not familiar.* The same, or nearly the same, may be said of the following authors, as their own writings testify: Agobardus, Archbishop of Lyons, who died in 840;—Rabanus, Archbishop of Mentz, 856;—Paschasius Radbertus, a monk, 865;—St. Ado, Archbishop of Vienna, in France, 875;—Anastasius, the Roman librarian, 880;—Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, 882;—Remigius of Auxerre, a monk, 908;—Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, 960;—Flodoardus, a canon in the church of Rheims, 966;—Sylvester II,

Geometrici. Viguit Horatius, magnusque Virgilius, Sallustius et Statius. *Apud* Thomassin. *Discipl. de l'Egl. Part* II. *Liv.* I. *ch.* 99, *n.* 2;—*vol.* II. *fol. p.* 638.

In the same chapter and in other chapters of the same work, the learned Oratorian shows that studies were also very flourishing in the schools of Worms, Paris, Lyons, and still more so in that of Rome, of which he speaks at length, and then says: "Let us conclude that the Pontifical palace of Rome, was the palace of polite literature, and the sanctuary of Ecclesiastical learning." *ch.* 100, *n.* 3. See also on this subject, Digby's *Ages of Faith, vol.* II, *part* III, *ch.* 5 and 6.

* *Præter Sacras litteras*, quidquid historici, oratores, poetæ atque philosophi, novum et grande perstrepunt, diligentissimè cum doctoribus cujuscumque linguæ perscrutatus est. Nullum penitùs erat studiorum liberalium genus, in omni Græcâ vel Latinâ eloquentiâ, quod ingenii sui vivacitatem aufugeret.—*Apud* Thomass. *lib. cit. c.* 99, *n.* 3.

Pope, 1003;—Abbo, a monk and Abbot of Fleury, 1004;—Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, 1029;—St. Peter Damian, Cardinal, 1072;—St. Gregory, VII, Pope, 1085;—Lanfrancus, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1089;—St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusian order, 1101;—St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1108;—and many others, equally belonging to the clergy or to religious orders.

With regard to laymen, although generally less fond of study and less instructed, it ought not to be imagined that they were plunged in a state of barbarism and complete darkness—far from it; an attentive perusal of the history of the middle ages will rather lead to the conclusion, that, without knowing how to display much elegance in their manners, and to appreciate the flowing periods of Demosthenes and Cicero, they had, in their noble simplicity, as much good sense and judgment as we have in this our age *of light*, and frequently more than we manifest. They knew, not only how to prefer religion and faith before all things, but also how to examine attentively the most difficult matters, to reason with accuracy, to act with prudence, to succeed in complicated negotiations, and adopt the best course in the most perplexing circumstances: witness, among others, Kings Alfred, Edgar and Canute in England, Hugh Capet in France, Alfonso III in Spain, Otho I in Germany, and John of Gortz and Luitprand, the ambassadors of Otho I to the courts of Cordova and Constantinople.

Nor did our ancestors want sagacity and genius for useful discoveries and improvements, since many of this kind were made during the middle ages. It was at the end of the tenth century, that Gerbert, preceptor to King Robert of France, afterwards Archbishop of Ravenna, and at length Pope, under the name of Sylvester II, invented clocks with a balance, which continued in use till pendulums began to be employed in 1650. To him also Arithmetic was greatly indebted for its progress. About the same time, lanterns were first used, and paper made

of cotton rags. A few years after (towards 1022), Guy, a monk of Arezzo in Italy, invented and introduced into the church singing the gamut, or scale of musical notes, by which a child can learn in a few months, what no person before could learn without several years of study. With regard to mechanical arts, it is enough to read the history of the siege of Jerusalem in 1099, to know what wonderful and complicated machines of every description were constructed by the first crusaders, men consequently of the middle ages.

Still, if credit were to be given to certain authors, the inhabitants of Western Europe, at the time of which we are speaking, must have been mere barbarians, compared with the Arabs, to whom alone, it is said, belonged the honor of cultivating letters and the arts and sciences. This notion is altogether false and unjust. The Arabs indeed, whether in the empire of Bagdad or in the kingdom of Cordova, distinguished themselves by a great show of politeness and magnificence, by some happy discoveries, and the brilliant dreams of their imagination; but that they were superior, in point of solid acquirements, to the Christian nations of Europe, it would be difficult to prove, and may be justly doubted.* Their metaphysical science was made up of subtleties taken from the categories of Aristotle, instead of being a source of true learning; their astronomical observations were blended with the ridiculous theories of astrology, and their prejudices

* Even at the time when arts and sciences were in their most flourishing state among the Arabs, namely, under Al-Mamon, the son and second successor of Aaron-Al-Raschid; that caliph was himself obliged to acknowledge the superiority of Christian scholars over his subjects. In his own palace, a Greek slave, who had formerly studied mathematics in Constantinople, confounded all the doctors and masters of the court. Whilst all present stood astonished, the slave said that there were many persons among his countrymen more skilful than himself, above all, a certain philosopher, called Leo, from whom he had received lessons. In fact as a geometer and an astronomer, Leo had not his equal in the whole empire. The caliph endeavored, but in vain, by the most flattering letters and promises, to bring him over to Bagdad: the Emperor Theophilus would never let him go, nor consent to deprive his own capital of so distinguished a scholar.—See Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas. Emp. vol.* XVI, *p.* 441-446.

against anatomy and surgery greatly impeded the progress of the art of medicine. They did not improve more in historical composition, which was characterized in those days by strange remarks, a bombastic style, and exaggerated accounts. Hence, the learned author of a recent history of the Crusades, does not hesitate to prefer the plain and unaffected narratives of the first Crusade, left by some Christian writers of the eleventh century, to the Arabian records of the same epoch.*

Another, and a still more striking vindication of the middle ages against the charge of complete darkness, is to be found in the great number of splendid churches that were then built throughout Christendom, many of which still exist; for, as Felibien has justly remarked, the state of architecture has always been in every country a sure proof of the degree of perfection in which the other arts flourished. Not only was this advantage possessed by England during the reign of the great Alfred, but also by other countries under less favorable circumstances, particularly on the following occasion. A little before the close of the tenth century, an opinion had been entertained by many simple persons, that the world would end with the year 1,000, nor had the writings of learned men been able to remove that imaginary fear. But when all saw the eleventh century begin without accident, joy took the place of terror, and the gratitude of the people towards Almighty God prompted them to repair churches, or build new ones still more worthy, by their splendor, of being consecrated to his honor.

Then, indeed, arose in different parts of Christendom, those Gothic temples, the appearance of which, at once grand, majestic and imposing, will never be eclipsed by the flimsy elegance of most of our modern edifices. Then were laid in many European cities the foundations of those splendid cathedrals in which we still admire the symmetrical rows of beautiful pillars supporting immense

* Michaut, *Hist. des Croisades, vol.* 1, *p.* 519.

arched roofs, the towering steeples, and a thousand other ornaments: monuments the more astonishing and worthy of admiration, as they are found even in many inconsiderable cities, and bear testimony to the grand ideas, as well as the zeal and piety of our European ancestors.

In fine, it was also during the middle ages that, through missionaries from Italy, Germany, France, England, etc. northern Europe received the light of the gospel; that the Normans, the Hungarians, the Danes, the Swedes, the Russians, the Lithuanians, the Poles, etc. began at the same time to become Christian and civilized nations. But how could this, we may ask, have been effected by any of their contemporaries, had those contemporaries been themselves mere barbarians? How could so arduous a task ever have been undertaken and performed, except by men equally zealous and learned, equally possessed of heroic virtues and great mental acquirements? And indeed, that such were the qualifications of the missionaries who subjected these nations to the laws of Christianity, we learn from all the documents of that period.

From this variety of evidence and facts, we are certainly authorized to conclude, in the first place, that the opinion commonly entertained about the middle ages is egregiously wrong; their pretended state of stupidity and barbarism never having had any existence, except in the theories of modern invention: and secondly, that it is to the Catholic Church, to her Popes, Bishops and Monks, that we stand indebted for the preservation of civilization, literature, arts and sciences in Europe. The complete revival of letters came from the same source, and the progress of ignorance, after having been vigorously opposed even in the most difficult times, was at length effectually checked (A. D. 1179—1215), by the decrees of Popes Alexander III and Innocent III, in the third and fourth councils of Lateran; in virtue of which decrees, colleges and universities began to spring up in every part of Christendom.

NOTES.

NOTE A.—PAGE 49.

ON THE CHARACTER AND DEATH OF SENECA, LUCAN, ETC.

This Seneca, surnamed *the Philosopher*, to distinguish him from his father Seneca, called *the Orator*, was a man of great genius and learning. He left a great number of moral treatises which contain beautiful maxims, mingled with many errors. His labored and refined style greatly contributed to the decline of good taste and true eloquence in Rome. As to his character, although he was possessed of many moral virtues, his weak connivance at several vices and crimes of Nero, his vanity, his usuries and immense riches, showed that his boasted philosophy consisted more in theory than in practice. In compliance with the orders of Nero, he died by taking poison and opening his veins.

The death of Lucan the poet, his nephew, was very similar: in obedience to the same tyrannical orders, he also caused his veins to be opened. After having lost a great quantity of blood, finding his hands and feet grow cold, and the extremities of his body almost dead, whilst the parts nearer the heart still retained their natural warmth; he recollected the description he had given in his Pharsalia of a death very like his own, and recited from it the following lines, which were his last words:

Scinditur avulsus nec, sicut vulnere, sanguis
Emicuit lentus: ruptis cadit undiquè venis.
* * * * * Pars ultima trunci
Tradidit in letum vacuos vitalibus artus.
At tumidus quà pulmo jacet, quà viscera fervent,
Hæserunt ibi fata diù; luctataque multùm
Hâc cum parte viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.

Lucani Pharsalia, III.

* * * * Asunder flies the man.
No single wound the gaping rupture seems,
Where trickling crimson wells in slender streams;
But from an opening horrible and wide,
A thousand vessels pour the bursting tide.
* * * * * * * *

Soon from the lower parts the spirits fled,
And motionless th' exhausted limbs lay dead.
Not so the nobler regions, where the heart
And heaving lungs their vital powers exert:
There lingering late, and long conflicting, life
Rose against fate, and stiff maintained the strife.
Driven out at length, unwillingly and slow,
She left her mortal house, and sought the shades below.
Rowe.

Many others, in the same corrupt age, either anticipated by a voluntary death, or consented to execute upon themselves the sentence of their condemnation: and it is worthy of remark, that the frequency of suicide always bears a proportion to the depravity of the time and country in which it is practised, it being one of the basest and most heinous crimes that can be committed. *One of the basest*, because, far from being a mark of true fortitude, it is, on the contrary, a sure mark of pusillanimity, and of a mind easily overcome by misfortune; as Martial the poet has said: "Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest—*he* is truly courageous, who can bear to be unfortunate." *One of the most heinous*, against God, whose sovereign dominion over life and death it violates by a bold usurpation; against society, which it unjustly deprives of its members; and against the perpetrator himself, whom it consigns to everlasting misery, in exchange for a temporal evil: for such, and no other, must be the result of suicide, not only on the principles of divine revelation, but even on those of reason and natural light. Whence Virgil, in his Æneid, speaking of the place of torments appointed in Tartarus for those who have committed suicide, very justly exclaims:

* * * * * Quàm vellent æthere in alto,
Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!—*Æneid, b.* VI.

The whole passage stands thus in Dryden:

The next in place, and punishment, are they
Who prodigally threw their souls away:
Fools, who repining at their wretched state,
And loathing anxious life, suborn'd their fate.
With late repentance now they would retrieve
The bodies they forsook, and wish to live;
Their pains and poverty desire to bear,
To view the light of heaven, and breathe the vital air.
But fate forbids; the Stygian floods oppose,
And, with nine circling streams, the captive soul enclose.

Thus the guilt and folly of suicide were acknowledged by the wisest of Pagans; and if the contrary opinion was more prevalent among them, it must be ascribed to the depravity of the times, and to that almost universal darkness which an absurd polytheism had spread over the principles of morality; a circumstance this, which renders the admission of suicide among Christians still more unjustifiable. As to the equally criminal and brutal practice of duelling, so common in our days, it was totally unknown to the civilized nations of antiquity, and originated in the ferocity of those barbarians of Northern Europe, who, in the fifth century, overthrew the Roman empire.

NOTE B.—PAGE 62.

ON THE HISTORIAN JOSEPHUS.

Nearly all that we relate concerning the Jewish war, being taken from Josephus, it will not be amiss to make some remarks respecting that great historian; referring, for a fuller account of his life, to his own writings.

Josephus was born of an illustrious Jewish family. From his youth, he appeared still more remarkable for the qualities of his mind than for the nobleness of his extraction, and showed so accurate a knowledge of the Mosaic law, that, even at the age of fourteen years, he was consulted on important matters by the doctors themselves. Having, in course of time, acquired more and more credit and authority among his countrymen, he made every effort to prevent them from rebelling against the Romans; and, when he found his endeavors of no avail, he resolved at least to retard, as long as possible, the moment of their ruin. He was appointed by them governor of Galilee, one of the Jewish provinces most exposed, from its position, to the attacks of the enemy.

Notwithstanding many obstacles, Josephus, by his ability, prudence and firmness, kept that province in good order for some time, but the approach of a powerful army commanded by Vespasian, compelled him to retire into Jotapat, the best fortified town in the country. Though pursued and besieged by the Romans, he defended the town, with astonishing skill and valor during forty-seven days, at the end of which, Jotapat was taken by surprise, and its inhabitants were put to the sword, with the exception of some hundred women and children. Josephus took refuge in a deep cavern, where he concealed himself with forty of his soldiers. Three days after, the place of his retreat having been discovered by the conquerors, he would have immediately intrusted himself to the generosity of Vespasian, had he not been prevented from surrendering by the threats of his companions. These furious men, to avoid falling into the hands of a victorious enemy, resolved to kill themselves with their own swords; Josephus prevailed on them

rather to die by the hands of others, proposing to them to decide by lot who should be first killed by his companion, who should follow next, and so on to the last: a proposal, after all, not less exceptionable than their first design. They followed it however, till Josephus, most fortunately, remained with only one man, whom he persuaded to surrender with him to the Romans; (see Josephus himself, *De Bello Judaïco, lib.* III, *c.* 7 and 8.)

He was kindly treated by Vespasian, and still more so by Titus, who had conceived a great esteem for his merit. He afterwards followed this prince to the siege of Jerusalem, where he repeatedly exhorted his countrymen to imitate his example, and to deserve the clemency of the Romans by an entire submission; but, far from being successful in the attempt, he was insulted, and, on one occasion even wounded; he would have been either slain or taken prisoner, had not Titus speedily sent a body of soldiers to his assistance, who succeeded in carrying him back to the camp. After the destruction of Jerusalem, he went with the same prince to Rome, where he continued to be much honored by him and his father Vespasian.

It was during his residence in Rome, that Josephus finished his many historical works which display a talent for narrative, a warmth of imagination and a beauty of style, that have gained for him the surname of the *Grecian Livy*. The most celebrated of his writings is the "History of the Jewish War," in seven books. It obtained the unqualified approbation of Vespasian, Titus and King Agrippa, who were all perfectly acquainted with the facts there mentioned.

Indeed nothing is wanting to render that work both highly interesting and credible. It is the history of a war unparalleled in the annals of nations; a narrative of notorious as well as extraordinary events, written by one who had been an eye-witness, nay more, one of the chief actors in them; a narrative published at a time, when it could have been easily contradicted by a thousand other witnesses, had it been deemed at variance with facts—far from being thus contradicted, it met with universal admiration and praise. It is a history, the author of which Almighty God saved by a special protection from innumerable dangers, that we might have in him an unexceptionable witness of the entire fulfilment of the divine prophecies concerning the temple and city of Jerusalem. In a word, it is both an authentic and admirable record, which, though very favorable to the cause of Christianity, cannot in the least be suspected of partiality for the Christians, since the writer was not a Christian, but a Jew constantly attached to his religion, his nation and his country.

NOTE C.—PAGE 126.

ON THE NUMBER OF MARTYRS DURING THE GENERAL PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

WHAT we have related of the persecutions of the church during the first ages, plainly shows that the multitude of those who were put to death for the cause of the Christian faith, was immense. Still Gibbon, in his '*Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*,' *ch.* XVI, maintains that the number of martyrs was not considerable, nor their courage astonishing. The following additional quotations from ancient sources, will show at once, it is hoped, the falsity of his assertions, and the accuracy of our statement. For the sake of brevity, we shall confine our remarks to the first, fifth and tenth persecutions.

For the first persecution, besides Tertullian and other Ecclesiastical writers, we have the grave and contemporary Pagan historian Tacitus, who writes thus: "An immense multitude (*multitudo ingens*) of Christians were convicted, not, indeed, upon clear evidence of their having set the city (of Rome) on fire, but rather on account of the hatred of the whole human race. To their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, to make dogs devour them; others were crucified; and many, covered over with inflammable matter, were lighted up, when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night." (Tacit. *Annal.*, *lib.* XV, *n.* 44.)

With regard to the fifth persecution (which Gibbon modestly calls *a mitigated* one), merely to mention the martyrs of Lyons, Ado of Vienna says in his martyrology (28th of June), that St. Irenæus, bishop of that city, suffered martyrdom with an exceedingly great multitude. An ancient epitaph, inscribed on a curious Mosaïc pavement in the great church of St. Irenæus at Lyons, says that the number of the Martyrs who died with him, amounted to the number of 19,000, besides women and children. St. Gregory of Tours writes that St. Irenæus had, in a very short time, converted to the Christian faith nearly the whole city of Lyons, and that with him were butchered almost all the Christians of that populous town; in so much that streams of blood flowed through the streets: *Tanta multitudo Christianorum jugulata est, ut per plateas flumina currerent de sanguine Christiano;* (*Hist. Franc. l.* I. *c.* 29.) St. Eucherius writes on the Martyrs of Lyons in the like manner; and Eusebius, speaking in more general terms of the same persecution, says: "When Severus raised a persecution against the church, there were illustrious testimonies given by the combatants of religion in all the churches every where;" (*Eccl. Hist. libr.* VI. *c.* 1.) So much for the *mitigated* persecution of Septimius Severus.

The same Eusebius relates more at large the tenth persecution, the atrocities of which he had witnessed with his own eyes. To the texts

and facts which we have quoted from him, page 126, we will subjoin the following, also taken from his *Ecclesiastical History, book* VIII, according to the English edit. Philad. 1834.

Ch. 6. "Innumerable multitudes were imprisoned in every place, and the dungeons formerly destined for murderers and the vilest criminals, were then filled with bishops, and presbyters (priests), and deacons, readers and exorcists; so that there was no room left for those condemned for crimes. But, when the former edict was followed by another, in which it was ordered that the prisoners should be permitted to have their liberty if they sacrificed, but persisting, they should be punished with the most excruciating tortures, who could tell the number of those martyrs in every province, and particularly in Mauritania, Thebaïs and Egypt, that suffered death for their religion?"

Ch. 8. "In Egypt, thousands, both men and women, and children, despising the present life for the sake of our Savior's doctrine, submitted to death in various shapes. Some, after being tortured with scrapings and the rack, and the most dreadful scourgings, and other innumerable agonies, which one might shudder to hear, were finally committed to the flames; some plunged and drowned in the sea, others voluntarily offering their own heads to the executioners, others dying in the midst of their torments, some wasted away by famine, and others again fixed to the cross. Some, indeed, were executed as malefactors usually were; others, more cruelly, were nailed with the head downwards, and kept alive until they were destroyed by starving on the cross itself."

Ch. 9. "But it would exceed all power of detail to give an idea of the sufferings and tortures which the Martyrs of Thebaïs endured. . . . And all these things were doing not only for a few days, or some time, but for a series of whole years. At one time, ten or more; at another, more than twenty; at another time, not less than thirty, and even sixty; and again, at another time, a hundred men with their wives and little children were slain in one day, whilst they were condemned to various and varied punishments. We ourselves have observed, when on the spot, many crowded together in one day, some suffering decapitation, some the torments of flames; so that the murderous weapon was completely blunted, and having lost its edge, broke to pieces; and the executioners themselves, wearied with slaughter, were obliged to relieve one another. Then, also, we were witnesses to the most admirable ardor of mind, and the truly divine energy and alacrity of those that believed in Christ. For, as soon as the sentence was pronounced against the first, others rushed forward from other parts to the tribunal before the judge, and, most indifferent to the dreadful and multiform tortures that awaited them, openly declared that they were Christians."

Ch. 12. "In Pontus and other countries of Asia, the martyrs endured torments that are horrible to relate. Some had their fingers

pierced with sharp reeds thrust under their nails. Others were roasted by masses of melted lead. . . . Some were suspended by the feet, and a little raised from the ground, with their heads downward, were suffocated with the ascending smoke of a gentle fire kindled below. . . .Others were roasted on grates of fire, not to kill immediately, but torture them with a lingering punishment. . . . It is impossible to tell the great and incalculable number of those that had their right eye first dug out with the sword, and then seared with a red hot iron; those too, whose left foot was maimed with a searing iron; after these, those who in different provinces were condemned to the copper mines, not so much for the service, as for the contumely and misery they should endure. Many, also, endured conflicts of other kinds, which it would be impossible to detail; for their noble fortitude surpasses all power of description. In this the magnanimous confessors of Christ that shone conspicuous throughout the whole world, every where struck the beholders with astonishment, and presented the obvious proofs of our Savior's divine interposition in their own persons."

Is not all this more than sufficient to overthrow at once the whole system of Gibbon concerning the Christian martyrs? The sceptical author has himself perceived it very well; and hence his anger against Eusebius.

Lactantius has fewer words, but is not less positive than Eusebius on the excessive cruelties and ravages of the persecution of Diocletian. "Though I had," says he, "a hundred mouths and tongues, with an iron breast, it would be impossible for me to describe the various and horrid tortures that were inflicted on the guiltless christians, throughout the provinces of the empire." (*De Morte persec. n.* XVI.)

Sulpicius Severus, who lived in the same century, though a little later, expresses himself in the same manner on the present subject. The following are his words, in the 2d book of his *Hist. Sacr.:* "Under the empire of Diocletian and Maximian, a most rigorous persecution arose, which made frightful ravages in the church for ten years in succession. During that period, nearly the whole world was stained with the blood of the holy martyrs. Never was the earth more depopulated by any war, than by this persecution; nor did the church ever obtain a greater triumph, than when it could not be conquered by a continual slaughter which lasted ten years." *Diocletiano et Maximiano imperantibus, acerbissima persecutio exorta, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est. Quâ tempestate omnis ferè sacro martyrum cruore orbis infectus est. . . Nullis unquàm magis bellis mundus exhaustus est: neque majore unquàm triumpho vicimus, quàm quùm decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuimus.*

There is yet extant a medal of Diocletian with this inscription: "The name of Christians being annihilated;" *Nomine Christianorum deleto.* This indeed was asserting what had never happened; still, what an

immense quantity of blood must have been shed, to make the persecutors believe that they had obliterated the Christian name, and destroyed a religion which filled the whole empire!

After such unexceptionable testimonies, which surely suppose the number of Martyrs to have amounted to millions, how ridiculous and absurd must the assertions of Gibbon appear, when, besides frequently contradicting himself, he maintains: first, that there were not more than fifteen hundred or two thousand martyrs in the persecution of Diocletian; secondly, that their sufferings ought to be ascribed to a cause different from that of religion, and their fortitude to mere human motives, such as pride, ambition and desire of glory; thirdly, that their tortures only existed in the imagination of the monks of latter ages! Indeed, was Gibbon serious, when writing these things, or did he not rather intend to trifle with his readers? In how deceitful and shameful a manner does he endeavor to answer and oppose the most authentic monuments of antiquity!

1st. He conceals, omits, alters, or calls in question the strongest passages of ancient historians, which are contrary to his system; a commodious way indeed to get rid of the most forcible proofs, when they cannot be met with solid argument.

2d. He impeaches the veracity, or at least the accuracy of Tacitus in the passage above quoted, under the pretence that Tacitus had not seen what he relates: as if ocular demonstration were the only means of acquiring the knowledge of facts, and as if Tacitus could not be perfectly acquainted with an event quite notorious in its nature, which happened in Rome where he wrote his Annals, and a few years only before he began to write! But, if the principle be true that the testimony of the eyes is requisite to know and surely transmit historical events, what credit, we ask, can possibly be given to any part of Gibbon's work, since the facts there recorded, are supposed to have happened many centuries before Gibbon was born? What right has an inconsistent and infidel author to claim the least reliance on his word, whilst he himself so boldly discredits the testimony of a grave, judicious and renowned historian?

3d. He appeals to the well known moderation of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and other such princes, to exculpate them from the guilt of having been persecutors. Some of those emperors, we admit, did not enact laws against Christianity; but they at least suffered the ancient laws to be executed, and themselves sometimes carried on the persecution, as we learn from Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist. lib.* III, IV and V), St. Justin and Meliton, (in their *Apolog.*), and Pliny the younger (*Epist. ad Traj.*) Moreover, what does their supposed moderation prove against the violence of the persecutions raised by Nero, Septimius, and others?

4th. Gibbon insists on the small number of Christians who were juridically condemned. Small it may have been, but how many, how very many more perished every where, without the formality of a judicial sentence, as ancient historians testify!

5th. He emphatically adduces a sentence of Origen, which says that the number of martyrs was inconsiderable (*Contrà Celsum, lib.* III, *n.* 8). But he ought to have added likewise what comes next in Origen, and shows his true meaning, viz. that there always remained more Christians alive, than had perished during the persecution, "God being unwilling," says he, "that the Christian society should be destroyed." Hence the small number of martyrs spoken of by this Father, is to be understood relatively to the number of the survivers; which does not favor the system of Gibbon, nor contradict our statement, the less so, as Origen wrote this before the persecutions of Decius, Valerian and Diocletian, the most cruel and bloody of all.

6th. Eusebius positively testifies that he was an eye-witness to the multitude, the sufferings, and the constancy of the martyrs of Thebaïs and Egypt;* Gibbon calls the fact in question—which of the two ought to be believed?

* Gibbon, to elude the difficulty, contents himself with saying that the term used by Eusebius may signify either that he *had seen* or that he *had heard*. We will give the original text, and place by its side the Latin translation of the learned Henri de Valois, who will be acknowledged to have known Greek at least as well as Gibbon, and who translates another word of the context by the very strong expression, *oculis nostris conspeximus:*

'Ιστορήσαμεν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων γενόμενοι, πλείους ἀθρόως κατὰ μίαν ἡμέραν· τοὺς μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτομὴν ὑπομείναντας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν διὰ πυρὸς τιμωρίαν . . . . . "Οτε καὶ θαυμασιωτάτην ὁρμὴν, θείαν τε ὡς ἀληθῶς δύναμιν καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ πεπιστευκότων συνεωρῶμεν.—*Lib.* VIII. *cap.* 9.

Nos quoque cum in illis partibus degeremus, quam plurimos acervatim uno die: alios quidem capite truncatos, alios vero flammis traditos *vidimus.* . . . . . Quo quidem tempore mirabilem imprimis animi ardorem, vereque divinam virtutem et alacritatem eorum qui in Christum Dei crediderant, *oculis nostris conspeximus.*

In the two following passages, Eusebius has employed the term of which we are speaking. The candid reader will decide on the meaning of the author.—In the first, speaking of the statue erected in Cæsarea Philippi to our Savior by the woman mentioned in the Gospel, he says:

"Εμεινε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ ὄψει παραλαβεῖν ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει. Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἐθνῶν εὐεργετηθέντας πρὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ταῦτα πεποικέναι ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σωζομένας ἱστορήσαμεν.—*L.* VII, *c.* 18.

Mansit porro (the statue) ad nostra usque tempora: nosque adeo urbem illam ingressi, *ipsam conspeximus* Nec vero mirandum est Gentiles a Servatore nostro beneficiis affectos hæc præstitisse; cum et Apostolorum Petri ac Pauli, Christique ipsius pictas imagines, ad nostram usque memoriam servatas *in tabulis viderimus.*

The second passage is still more to the point: relating the sufferings of certain martyrs in Phœnicia, Eusebius uses the following words:

. . . οἷς γενομένοις καὶ αὐτοὶ παρῆμεν, ὁπηνίκα τοῦ μαρτυρουμένου Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ δὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν θείαν δύναμιν ἐπιπαροῦσαν, ἐναργῶς τε αὐτὴν τοῖς μάρτυρσιν ἐπιδεικνυσαν ἱστορήσαμεν.—*Lib.* VIII, *cap.* 7.

Quæ cum gererentur, *nos ipsi præsentes aderamus:* ubi et divinam potentiam Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui tunc martyres testimonium perhibebant, præsentem et semetipsam manifeste martyribus exhibentem *perspeximus.* . . . . . .

7th. In order to weaken the overwhelming authority of the same Eusebius, and also of Lactantius, the English sophist calls the former a courtier, and the latter a rhetorician; as if rhetoric or the court had any thing to do with the present subject, and could have deprived these illustrious writers of their ears, eyes, learning and judgment. Surely, if such angry and preposterous accusations be once admitted, there is at once an end of historical knowledge. The truth is, that Gibbon, being an enemy to the church of Christ, chose rather to fall into absurdities, than permit her quietly to enjoy the lustre thrown around her by the multitude and constancy of her martyrs.

Many other reprehensible assertions against the Christian Religion, her tenets and her ministers, are to be found in the work of Gibbon; although equally destitute of proof, it is not our object here to discuss them. We have said enough to show that this author is, at least in what regards Christianity, unworthy of credit, and a real infidel, who covers, but cannot conceal his hatred against our holy religion with the veil of affected moderation and learning. Hence it is most deplorable, that a work so well calculated to instil the poison of scepticism and infidelity, should be so much read, praised and recommended in Christian and enlightened countries. Will any literary advantage, derived from some beauties of style, ever compensate so pernicious a result?

NOTE D.—PAGE 148.

ON THE ATTEMPT OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

That this attempt entirely failed, and that its failure was not a natural event, is so certain, and so well proved, that it can be denied only by one who is ready to deny every thing. In the first place, the fact is related by a great number of contemporary writers, viz. St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the year immediately following the event, (*Orat.* v. *contr. Julian.*); St. John Chrysostom, in several parts of his works, especially his first, fifth and sixth Discourses on the Jews, where he appeals to eye-witnesses yet living; St. Ambrose, in his 40th Epistle, written A. D. 388, to the emperor Theodosius; Rufinus, in his Eccles. Hist. (*b.* I. *c.* 37, etc.); Philostorgius, the Arian, (*b.* VII, *c.* 14); Theodoret, the celebrated bishop of Cyre, (*b.* III, *c.* 20); Socrates, (*b.* III, *c.* 20); Sozomen, who says that many were still alive who had seen the splendid prodigy, (*b.* V, *c.* 22); etc.

This unanimous testimony of the Ecclesiastical historians is corroborated by that of the Jews and Gentiles. Rabbins Gans-Zemach and Gedaliah relate the fact with its principal circumstances; the latter especially, is clear, positive, and the more deserving of credit, as he transcribed what he wrote from the annals of his nation. Libanius, a

friend and perpetual admirer of Julian, speaks in two places of earthquakes and dreadful accidents which had lately happened in Palestine. Julian himself, in one of his letters, confesses that he attempted to raise the Temple of the Jews from its ruins, and cannot help mentioning the insurmountable obstacles he met with, which obliged him to give up the enterprise.

Above all, we have the express testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, another heathen and contemporary author, who writes thus in the 23d book of his History: "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, urged with vigor and diligence the execution of the work, fearful balls of fire frequently breaking out near the foundations, several times burned or scorched the workmen, and rendered the place inaccessible. The terrible element *continuing in this manner obstinately* to repel every effort, the undertaking was abandoned." Cùm itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum propè fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecêre locum, exustis aliquotiès operantibus, inaccessum; *hocque modo elemento destinatiùs repellente*, cessavit inceptum.—Amm. *lib.* XXIII, *c.* 1.

To such a mass of evidence what can be opposed, and what is really opposed by Gibbon and other infidels? Do they adduce against the fact just related, any thing, I do not say evident, but even plausible; for instance, the contradictory statement of some historians worthy of credit? By no means; they merely appeal to the silence of some ancient authors who thought it unnecessary to mention the wonderful event. But, when was it ever admitted that the silence of a few, or even of many, could destroy or even weaken the positive asseveration of others among whom collusion was utterly impossible, of numerous and learned, contemporary and unexceptionable vouchers? What can we believe in the annals of nations, in the transactions of human life, in courts of judicature, etc. if, in order to obtain sufficient evidence of a fact, the express attestation of a host of witnesses is required? This is certainly a strange rule of criticism. Nor is there less fallacy and absurdity in the affected doubts of our modern infidels, in their usual resource of a *may-be* or *perhaps*, in their vague charges of exaggeration, fanaticism, christian credulity, and the like:—what have such charges to do with an event equally important and notorious, with a fact openly proclaimed and recorded by a multitude of writers, at a time when innumerable witnesses were still alive, and when, had it not really taken place, it would have been related by none, by none have been believed.

Let us then conclude, with the learned Warburton, in his dissertation on this subject, that the defeat of Julian's attempt by fire and earthquakes, stands forth in a full blaze of evidence, and is as incontestable as any event mentioned in history. Either it must be admitted, or we must fall into the most extravagant scepticism, and reject altogether the

exploits and conquests of Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, etc., which indeed are not so well substantiated as the event in question.

But if, admitting the existence of the fact, infidels deny, or like the same Gibbon, call in question its being a real miracle, this new paradox is as easily refuted as the former. For it is impossible that any sincere mind should not perceive a supernatural intervention of God and a derogation from the ordinary laws of this visible world in the event now before us, whether we consider it in its moral or in its physical circumstances.

In the first place, it is true that earthquakes, and the eruption of balls of fire are *often* the mere consequences of the ordinary laws of nature, and do not, *of themselves*, suppose or demonstrate any particular design of the providence of God. But, when these various phenomena come all together and unexpectedly, just at the moment in which a great and religious object is to be obtained, or an impious attempt to be defeated, there can be no doubt that they are a special manifestation of the divine will and power, expressly made by the Almighty for the above purposes. To deny this, would be to deny the wisdom and providence of God in the moral government of the world, and, with equal impiety and absurdity, to substitute in their stead a ridiculous chance or a blind necessity.

These evident truths being presupposed, let us examine the peculiar tendency and circumstances of Julian's exertions towards *the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple*. Since its irreparable and entire overthrow had been foretold both in the Old and New Testaments, Julian, by undertaking to rebuild it, bade defiance to Heaven itself, and was inclined, could he once succeed, to bring the charge of falsehood and imposture on those sacred prophecies. If then Almighty God, just at the moment when the intended work was to be begun, prevented it by tremendous earthquakes and eruptions of fire, though these effects might, to some, appear natural in themselves, who can doubt but that so singular a concurrence of the malicious attempt and the obstacles opposed to it, should be attributed to a supernatural intervention? What sincere mind will not, on beholding the Christian Religion, as it were, protected by the very elements, conclude that the Sovereign Lord of nature is also the founder and preserver of Christianity?

Moreover, all the physical circumstances which accompanied the event, concurred to prove it a real and most splendid miracle. Independently of the fact that there had never been a volcano in Palestine, we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus that the balls of fire came out of the earth near the foundations of the Temple—at repeated times—with a sort of deliberate intention to subdue the persevering obstinacy of the workmen, and, after consuming several of them, rendered the place inaccessible. According to Rabbin Gedaliah, a great earthquake took

place, and a terrible fire melted the iron instruments, and burned a great number of Jews. According to Rufinus and Theodoret, porticos under which the workmen retired, fell by the violence of the earthquake, and crushed them to death, whilst others were devoured by fire on the site of the Temple. According to St. Gregory Nazianzen, Socrates, Sozomen, etc. a brilliant cross appeared in the sky, and smaller crosses were imprinted on the garments of the spectators, etc.

Who will not acknowledge in all this something manifestly above the laws of nature? Who can explain, by those laws, why the balls of fire burst forth from the foundations, at the very moment when the Temple was begun, and whenever it was resumed; why the destructive element directed its whole fury against the workmen and the Jews, and not against other persons; and why it did not cease its attacks, until the enterprise was entirely abandoned? How did it happen that the shaking of the earth overthrew the porticos, where many workmen were assembled, and not other buildings in the city? Why no fissures and chasms were left in the ground, like those formed by natural earthquakes and volcanoes? Why those crosses, great and small, etc. etc.—Did nature ever produce effects like these? Was not the finger of God visible in every circumstance of this awful event; and does not the man who voluntarily shuts his eyes against such light, deserve to be abandoned with the Apostate Julian to his own obduracy, as to an equally just and rigorous punishment?

NOTE E.—PAGE 223.

ON MAHOMET'S PRETENDED MIRACLES.

Although Mahomet, on several occasions, disclaimed the power of working miracles, still he maintained that the Almighty did wonderful things in his favor, and his followers also ascribe to him a great number of prodigies of the most extraordinary nature; for instance, that the moon was divided into two parts, one of which came down into the sleeve of the prophet, by whom it was sent back to heaven;—that fountains sprung forth from his fingers;—that, whilst he was travelling through the country, the trees respectfully saluted him, &c.; but, who does not see that all these things are mere foolish stories, quite unworthy of having the God of majesty for their author, besides being totally unsupported by credible testimonies or by any proof whatever? For, they were either blindly adopted upon the bare word of Mahomet, or forged only after his death; most of them not being found even in the *Koran*, but in the *Sonna*, a fabulous and ridiculous record of somewhat later date, which holds among the Mussulmen the same standing that the *Talmud* holds among the Jews.

The most famous of those prodigies is the voyage of Mahomet to

the highest heaven. Of this he continually boasted; this he adduced as the strongest proof of his favor with God, and, after his example, several Arabian authors relate it with the utmost gravity.

They say that, during a certain night, the wonderful mare Al-Borak, upon which the ancient prophets usually rode, transported Mahomet from Mecca to Jerusalem, whence he was, by the help of the Archangel Gabriel and of a ladder of light, taken up, through an immense distance, to the summit of heaven, before the throne of the Almighty, there to receive his instructions from God himself. Most admirable were the things which he saw in his journey thither, and on his way back; among others: 1st, the stars as big as the mountains of Arabia, and fastened to the first heaven by golden chains, (which shows, by the by, how learned a scholar and astronomer Mahomet was!) 2d, a cock, whose head reached the second heaven, though distant from the first where the cock stood, about ten or twelve times the distance from the moon to the earth; 3d, an angel so tall and large, that it would have taken seventy thousand days to walk from one of his eyes to the other; 4th, another angel who had seventy thousand heads; each head having seventy thousand faces; each face, seventy thousand mouths; each mouth, seventy thousand tongues; and each tongue being able to speak seventy thousand languages, of which he made use to praise Almighty God, etc. Mahomet returned in the same manner, and with the same rapidity in which he had gone to heaven, the whole voyage having been completed in the short space of a few hours. (See *Univers. Hist.* composed by a body of learned Englishmen, *Paris edit.* 1782, *vol.* XLI, *p.* 92—116, where are found references to numberless writers, Abulfeda, Gagnier, Prideaux, etc.—Anquetil, *Précis de l'Histoire Univers., vol.* IV. *in* 8*vo. p.* 249—253.)

Tales, not only so unworthy in every respect of being compared with the miracles of Christ and his disciples, but even so ridiculous and absurd, found admirers among the enthusiastic Arabs. Still, it must be observed that they were not believed by all the Mahometans; nor did the followers of Mahomet support their preaching by the authority of his pretended miracles, but by force of arms. The use of their swords, aided on one side by the impulse of ambition, corrupt nature and fanaticism, on the other, by the weakness of the Greek and Persian empires at that period, was the real and only cause of the rapid progress of their religion. (See again *Univers. Hist. same vol.* XLI, *p.* 45, 46;—*Annales du moyen age, vol.* IV, *last pages;*—Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas. Empire, livr.* 56, *n.* 31, 32;—Bergier, *Theolog. Diction. articl. Mahométisme.*

As to the Koran, which the Mussulmen give also as a proof of the divine mission of their prophet, we have already observed that, with the exception of a glowing style and some beautiful moral maxims, it is, according to all persons of good sense, nothing but a miserable rhap-

sody. The Mahometan doctors themselves confess that it is full of perplexing difficulties and contradictions, which they endeavor to reconcile by admitting a distinction between its various articles, some, they say, being abrogated, and some being destined to abrogate the others; but, unfortunately for their purpose, the *abrogating* articles, instead of being, as they certainly ought to be, later, are on the contrary more ancient *than those to be abrogated.*

NOTE F.—PAGE 248.

ON THE ANSWER OF POPE ZACHARY TO A CONSULTATION OF THE FRENCH.

By some authors and critics of later times, (Le Cointe, *Ann. Francor.;*—Feller, *art. Childeric III;*—Béraut-Berc. *ad ann.* 752, *etc.*) the fact of Pope Zachary's being consulted about the accession of Pepin, has been called in question, but we think without sufficient reason. It is thus related by Eginard, an almost contemporary writer: "Burcard (a bishop) and Fulrad (first chaplain of the palace), were sent to Rome, for the purpose of consulting Pope Zachary concerning the kings who were then in France, and who, having merely the name of kings, did not enjoy any portion of the royal power. The answer was: 'It were better that he should be king, in whom the sovereign authority resided.'" Missi sunt Burcardus et Folradus Romam ad Zachariam, ut consulerent Pontificem de causâ regum qui illo tempore fuerunt in Franciâ, qui nomen tantùm regis, sed nullam potestatem regiam habuerunt; secutum est responsum: meliùs esse illum regem, apud quem summa potestatis consisteret.—Eginard. *Annal. Franc.* The same is recorded in substance by the authors of many annals of those times, Fuld., Metens., etc.; by the continuator of Fredegaire and others (*apud* Duchesne, *vol.* 1, *p.* 773, 796). From these it plainly appears that the fact in question is expressly asserted by a great number of contemporary or nearly contemporary writers. To reject the unanimous testimony of so many and so respectable annalists, seems to be rather unreasonable criticism, there being no certain proof of their having wanted either sincerity or correct information on that point.

This being presupposed, it would be still more unjust to blame the answer of Pope Zachary. In fact, no one can fairly doubt that, among the northern nations of Europe, the crown was originally elective, as Robertson has well proved in his preliminary discourse on the history of Scotland. It had indeed become hereditary among the French, owing to the uncommon ability of their first leaders; but, since the last kings of the family of Clovis had, by their indolence and incapacity, brought contempt upon themselves, it was natural to expect that the

French lords, in order to procure a worthy sovereign to the nation, would revive the ancient mode of succession to the throne.

On the other hand, the exercise of the royal authority had, for a long series of years, entirely devolved on the French dukes of Pepin's family; they alone carried the whole burden and discharged all the duties of sovereignty at home and abroad; whereas the last Merovingian kings had accustomed themselves, generally speaking, to be satisfied with the easier duty of managing their private household. This was certainly an excellent reason for the French to reassume, in such circumstances, the ancient mode of electing their sovereigns, which had not yet suffered a very long interruption, and, by a very proper use of their right, to confer the royal title and prerogatives on such persons among them as exercised the royal power with so much glory and utility for the state. Since moreover the whole nation professed an explicit attachment and respect for the Apostolic see, it was surely again the duty and the interest of Pepin to have his election confirmed by the Pope.

Zachary, in his answer, did not endanger in the least the laws of wisdom and justice. In declaring that it was better to confer the title of king on that person who was already in possession of the sovereign authority, he merely expressed a fact and a maxim which, far from disturbing the good order of the state, tended to re-establish it by the adoption of a measure equally prudent and decisive: "*melius esse illum* (vocari) *regem, apud quem summa potestatis consisteret.*" Had the decision of the Pope and the conduct of Pepin left every thing as before, there would have remained in France, two sovereigns, the one nominal, the other real, contrary to the fundamental laws of that kingdom and to the just wishes of the nation.

NOTE G.—PAGE 250.

ON THE TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPE.

Among the different temporal sovereignties which exist in the world, there is none so evidently irreprehensible in its origin and formation, as that of the Pope. Here we see neither artful intrigues, nor sedition and revolt, nor unjust attacks and usurpation; but we behold the liberality of Christian kings and emperors, united with a series of singular events, whose coincidence led the way to the addition of temporal power to the spiritual authority which the Sovereign Pontiff had always exercised.

It is a fact of public notoriety, and placed beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the Popes, for many years, and especially in the first part of the eighth century, made every exertion to preserve to the court of Constantinople its possessions in the West (see Anastasius, *In Papam*

Greg. II. et Steph. II; Thomassin, *Discipl. de l'Egl. part* III, *book* I, *c.* 29, *vol.* III, *p.* 199 *et seq.*) They incessantly endeavored, by the exercise of their great influence, to maintain the Italians in their allegiance to the Greek emperors, and, by embassies and entreaties, to procure from the Greek emperors the assistance which the Italians needed in order to repel the repeated attacks of the Lombards. But those blind and wicked princes, instead of affording the relief so much desired, rather increased the public misery by tyranny and oppression.

Thus, finding implacable enemies both in the barbarians and in their own sovereigns, the people, driven almost to despair, began to sigh ardently after a new and better order of things. The eyes of all were turned towards the Pope, as their only refuge and the common father of all in distress. In this state of desolation, the Sovereign Pontiffs, unable any longer to resist the eagerness of multitudes flying into their arms for protection and refuge, and destitute of every other means, applied to the French, who alone were both willing and able to defend them against the Lombards.

The sequel is known; and we shall not repeat here what Pepin and Charlemagne did for the people of Rome, and especially for the Pope with regard to his temporal dominion; but we will ask, what can we find to censure either in the conduct of the French monarchs, or in that of the Roman people? It is a principle laid down by civilians, and founded on the law of nations, that he who conquers a country in a just war not undertaken for the former possessors nor in union with them, is not bound to restore to them what they would not, or could not, protect and secure. Such precisely was the case with Italy at that time. The Greeks had lost their right to their possessions in that country, by suffering them to be taken or laid waste by the Lombards, without sending succor to defend and protect them. Those countries, therefore, by the claim of conquest in a just war, belonged to Pepin and Charlemagne, who bestowed them on the Popes. On the other hand, the Roman people, abandoned to barbarians, had a right, when the Greeks refused to afford them relief, to seek it from others, and form themselves into a new form of government. This they did, by choosing, under the protection of the French, to be governed by him who, besides being the common father of the faithful, had been their only support in their distress.

"Il n'y a rien," says Count de Maîstre, "de si évidemment juste dans son origine que cette souveraineté extraordinaire. L'incapacité, la bassesse, la férocité des souverains qui la précédèrent; l'insupportable tyrannie exercée sur les biens, les personnes et la conscience des peuples; l'abandon formel de ces mêmes peuples livrés sans défense à d'impitoyables barbares; le cri de l'occident qui abdique l'ancien maître; la nouvelle souveraineté qui s'élève, s'avance et se substitue à

l'ancienne sans secousse, sans révolte, sans effusion de sang, poussée par une force cachée, inexplicable, invincible, et jurant foi et fidélité jusqu'au dernier instant à la faible et méprisable puissance qu'elle allait remplacer; le droit de conquête enfin, obtenu et solennellement cédé par l'un des plus grands hommes qui aient existé, par un homme si grand que la grandeur a pénétré son nom, et que la voix du genre humain l'a proclamé *grandeur* au lieu de *grand:* tels sont les titres des Papes, et l'histoire ne présente rien de semblable." (*Du Pape, vol.* I, *liv.* II, *ch.* VI).

This truth is expressed in a recent history of the Greek empire, with the same elegance, perspicuity and energy of style, as follows: "A quel titre Copronyme revendiquait-il une souveraineté abandonnée, ou quels droits prétendait-il conserver sur des peuples délaissés, qui dès long-temps ne connaissaient plus l'autorité impériale ni par sa protection ni par ses bienfaits? Les empereurs avaient abandonné Rome aux barbares; et qui l'avait défendue, qui l'avait sauvée? L'histoire nomme Léon, Grégoire, ou quelqu'autre de leurs successeurs; et les peuples avaient reconnu pour maîtres ceux qui s'étaient montrés leurs pères. La puissance des Papes était un fait, quand Pépin la reconnut comme un droit; et jamais souveraineté n'eut une origine plus juste et plus sainte." (*Hist. du Bas. Emp., Paris,* 1838, *vol.* I, *p.* 272, 273.)

NOTE H.—PAGE 309.

THE POPES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

NOTHING in the history of the middle ages has been more frequently misrepresented and more grossly calumniated, yet nothing is more worthy of admiration, than the conduct of the Popes in the long struggle which they maintained against the depravity and tyranny of princes, in defence of religion and social order. It was truly the struggle of virtue against vice, of civilization against barbarism, of Christianity against the powers of darkness. At that time, whether the evil was owing to the invasions of new barbarians, to the feudal system, or to other causes, national and civil wars scarcely ceased one moment to lay waste the whole face of Europe. Nations oppressed by their sovereigns had no other resource than the protection, and sovereigns who wished to act as tyrants, no other check than the authority of the Pope, which they generally acknowledged, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal concerns. The Pope then, in his proceedings against several emperors of Germany and some other princes, besides acting conformably to the common jurisprudence of those times, merely did what the state of society and the circumstances in which he was placed, evidently required of him as the head of the Christian family, and the common father of all the faithful.

The better to understand this, we should revert to the epoch in which these important transactions took place. At a time when the nations of Europe closely adhered to the ancient faith, and preferred it to every thing else, the profession of Christianity and submission to the Roman Church were conditions absolutely requisite in sovereigns, to exact and enforce obedience from their subjects. If a prince happened to revolt openly against the Catholic religion, or to incur, by his crimes, the penalty of excommunication, it was the prevailing opinion that the oath of allegiance given to him was no longer binding, since he had ceased to be the religious prince whom the nation had intended to acknowledge for its monarch.* "Thus," says Schlegel, "we hear the Saxons declare to the emperor Henry IV, that, the Christian name being profaned by him, they were unwilling to disgrace themselves by having intercourse with a prince who insulted and despised the religion of Christ; and, since they had sworn fealty to him, on condition that he should reign for the edification and not for the destruction of the Church, were he to infringe this duty, they would think themselves no longer bound by their oath of allegiance to him. Shortly after, the same Saxons wrote to the Pope, to lay before his tribunal both their grievances and the crimes of Henry, and concluded their letter by saying that, such a prince being unworthy of the throne, they therefore requested the Sovereign Pontiff to make use of the authority which he had over the empire, and, through an assembly of the princes, to procure for them a worthier and better monarch."

"Not long before this, the emperor Henry III had expressly acknowledged the Church jurisdiction, even in temporal affairs, when he wished to oppose the rising pretensions of the king of Castile to the title of emperor. He referred the case to a council in which the legate of Pope Victor II presided (1055); the result of the consultation being sent to Rome, a sentence was passed; and king Ferdinand declared, in presence of the papal envoys, that he submitted to the decision of the Roman Pontiff. Hence, the high authority which Rome then exercised over kings and emperors, was grounded, first, on a political claim growing out of the circumstances which accompanied the revival of the western empire; and secondly, on the general opinion of that time

* This is very well explained by Fenelon, who says: "Sensim Catholicarum gentium hæc fuit sententia animis alte impressa, scilicet, supremam potestatem committi non posse nisi principi Catholico, eamque esse legem sive conditionem appositam populos inter et principem, ut populi principi fideles parerent, modo princeps ipse Catholicæ religioni obsequeretur. Qua lege posita, putabant omnes solutum esse vinculum sacramenti fidelitatis a tota gente præstitum, simul atque princeps, ea lege violata, Catholicæ religioni contumaci animo resisteret."

Again: "Nihil est mirum si gentes Catholicæ religioni quam maxime addictæ, principis excommunicati jugum excuterent. Ea enim lege sese principi subditas fore pollicitæ erant, ut princeps ipse catholicæ religioni pariter subditus esset. Princeps vero qui, ob hæresim, vel ob facinorosam et impiam regni administrationem, ab Ecclesia excommunicatur, jam non censetur pius ille princeps, cui tota gens sese committere voluerat: unde solutum sacramenti vinculum arbitrabantur. (*Fenelon. Dissert. de auctoritate Summi Pontificis*, c. xxix.)

respecting the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power." (Schlegel, *Philos.* II. *p.* 137; *Théorie sociale de l'Évangile, Mémorial Cathol. vol.* II. *p.* 375.)

"This doctrine," says Dr. Lingard, "hostile as it might be to the independence of sovereigns, was often supported by the sovereigns themselves. Thus, when Richard I was held in captivity by the emperor, his mother Eleanor repeatedly solicited the Pontiff to procure his liberation by the exercise of that authority which he possessed over all temporal princes. Thus, King John Lack-land (whose excesses afterwards provoked against himself the animadversion of the church) invoked the aid of the same authority to recover Normandy from the king of France. At first, indeed the Popes contented themselves with spiritual censures: but in an age, when all notions of justice were modelled after the feudal jurisprudence, it was soon admitted that princes by their disobedience became traitors to God: that as traitors they ought to forfeit their kingdoms, the fees which they held of God: and that to pronounce such sentence belonged to the Pontiff, the vicegerent of Christ upon earth." (Lingard's *Hist. of Engl. vol.* III, of the third London edition, *p.* 35, *note*).

It was in virtue of these and the like principles, as the same historian relates, that Pope Innocent III did against King John Lack-land what St. Gregory VII had done against the Emperor Henry IV, when, solicited by Englishmen themselves, and moved by the recital of the repeated crimes and enormities of their sovereign, he absolved them from their oaths of fealty. This he did however, as the sequel showed, rather with the secret intention of terrifying the king and bringing him back to a sense of his duty, than with a real determination to ruin him for ever.

From these examples and testimonies, to which others might be added, we may form an accurate idea of the temporal power occasionally exercised by the Popes during the middle ages. They exercised it with the implicit consent of the sovereigns themselves, who frequently appealed to the decisions of Rome in their temporal debates, and none of whom scarcely ever complained, except (as was natural) the individual affected by the sentence. They exercised it only against sovereigns who depended, more or less, on the free choice of their nation and the acknowledgment of the Holy See, as was particularly the case with the German emperors. They exercised it only in cases of paramount necessity, and after every other means, such as exhortations and remonstrances, had proved fruitless. They exercised it for the interest of the people and of society, at the request of the people themselves, and upon their earnest entreaties to be delivered from the sway of wicked, impious and tyrannical princes; but never through caprice, nor for personal interest; on the contrary, those courageous and zealous Pontiffs, a Gregory, an Alexander, an Innocent, etc. saw before them

the prospect of persecutions, sufferings, and every kind of danger, which they had to encounter for the faithful discharge of their duty.

Some Popes, it is true (though few in number), went further, and, acting in their secondary quality of temporal princes, raised troops, and took a more or less active share in the military operations of other sovereigns. But even that step was taken by them for laudable, and even for necessary purposes; viz. to recover or defend their own provinces, to repel unjust attacks, to support the independence of the Italian republics, and particularly to check the alarming progress of the Mussulmen. Can any fault be found with such conduct; and does it not rather afford a new proof of the truth, that the Popes have been the preservers of civilization and social order as well as of religion in Europe? This indeed was the grand object which they had in view, and the end at which they continually aimed in the exercise of both their temporal and spiritual power. Having well understood the sublime office which they were called to perform, they discharged it with wonderful zeal and fidelity for the advancement of moral and religious principles. They protected the weak against their oppressors; restored peace and tranquillity among nations; and, preventing the execution of wicked designs, saved rising states and societies from the attacks of ambition, barbarity and licentiousness. Hence, in reading the history of the middle ages, it is impossible for a reflecting mind not to be struck with admiration at the sight of Christian Europe devoted to *one* form of worship, ruled by *one* grand principle, forming as it were but *one* empire, and acknowledging *one* supreme head whose exalted duty it was to promote the reign of the gospel upon earth. (See Michaut, *Histoire des Croisades*, *vol.* IV, *p.* 98, 99;—Count de Maistre, *Du Pape*, *part* II, *c.* V, X.).

Not bitter censure, therefore, but real praise is due to the exertions of the Popes and to their acts of authority with regard to temporal princes. This is at length candidly acknowledged by different writers of the Protestant communion, after the example of Leibnitz in several of his works, especially in his first dissertation *De Actorum Publicorum Usu.* Very lately, two Protestant German authors, Hurter and Voigt, have published their excellent lives of Innocent III and Gregory VII, in which the character and the conduct of these great Popes are powerfully vindicated, and held up to the unqualified admiration of posterity. Let us hope that the clouds which have so long obscured this part of history, will be entirely dispelled by impartiality and truth; and that full justice will at last be rendered to the Roman Pontiffs for their noble efforts to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of society.

There is another charge to be examined with regard to the Popes of the middle ages. We allude, not to the ridiculous tale of the pretended *Popess* Joan, which is now rejected by all learned critics, whether Catholics or Protestants, but to the more serious charge of the vices of

some Roman Pontiffs. It is true, a few among them gave great scandals to the Christian world in their private character and conduct; but it ought to be remembered at the same time, that, through a special protection of Divine Providence, the irregularity of their lives did not interfere with their public duty from which they never departed. The beneficial influence of sacred jurisdiction does not depend on the private virtue of the persons invested with it, but on their divine mission and appointment to feed the Christian flock. Christ did not say that there would never be scandals nor abuses, but that no power of darkness would ever prevail against his church; nor did he promise personal sanctity to its chief pastors, but gave to them authority to teach and govern the faithful, and to the faithful, a command to follow their injunctions, without blindly imitating the bad example of a small number of them, whose conduct was not edifying.

It is moreover certain that the number of bad Popes has been, by some writers, greatly exaggerated. There were very few of this character, and those few lived, nearly all, in the tenth and part of the eleventh century, during which time the prevalence of civil factions in Rome obstructed the freedom of canonical election. Even during that period, there existed many excellent Popes; men distinguished by their exalted virtues and intellectual endowments, patrons, in an eminent degree, of science, letters and the arts; and Roscoe does not hesitate to say, that "the Popes may in general be considered as superior to the age in which they have lived;" (Roscoe, *Life of Leo the Tenth, vol.* I, *p.* 53); and an American editor of statistics confesses that "most of the Popes were excellent men." These however are the sovereigns, whom a recent and an elementary author has, in his profound wisdom, thought proper to compare with the Mussulman caliphs, namely, with men who were either the most unjust conquerors, or the most indolent and insignificant monarchs that the world ever saw; whereas the greatest enemy of the See of Rome might be boldly challenged to show any where in history a succession of princes, who have been half as eminent for their virtues and piety, for their talents and learning, for their benefits to the great family of mankind, as the Roman Pontiffs.

TABLES

OF

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

N. B. THE DATES MARK THE BEGINNING OF EACH REIGN.

TABLE I.

B. C.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	PARTHIAN KINGS. ARSACIDES.
31	Cæsar Augustus.	Phraates.
A. D.		
14	Tiberius.	
18	.....	Artabanus.
37	Caligula.	
41	Claudius.	
50	.....	Vologeses I.
54	Nero.	
68	Galba.	
69	Otho.	
69	Vitellius.	
69	Vespasian.	
79	Titus.	
81	Domitian.	
90	.....	Pacorus.
96	Nerva.	
98	Trajan.	
107	.....	Chosroes.
117	Adrian.	
133	.....	Vologeses II.
138	Antoninus Pius.	
161	Marcus Aurelius.	
180	Commodus.	
189	.....	Vologeses III.
193	Pertinax.	
193	Didius Julianus.	
193	Septimius Severus.	
211	Caracalla.	
214	.....	Artabanus.
217	Macrinus.	
218	Heliogabalus.	*Empire of the Parthians destroyed in* 226.
222	Alexander Severus.	

TABLE II.

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	PERSIAN KINGS. SASSANIDES.
235	Maximin....	in 226 Artaxerxes I.
238	Gordian.....	Sapor I.
244	Philip.	
249	Decius.	
251	Gallus.	
253	Æmilian.	
253	Valerian.	
260	Gallienus.	
268	Claudius II.	
269	.....	Hormisdas I.
270	Aurelian.	
275	Tacitus.	Varanes I.
276	Probus.	
279	.....	Varanes II.
282	Carus.	
284	Carinus and Numerian.	
284	Diocletian & Maximian.	
294	.....	Narses.
305	Constantius Chlorus and Galerius.	Hormisdas II.
306	Constantine the Great.	
310	.....	Sapor II.
337	Constantine II..Constans and Constantius.	
361	Julian.	
363	Jovian.	
364	Valentinian and Valens.	
379	Gratian--Valentinian II, and Theodosius the Great *—empire is divided.*	Artaxerxes II. —Sapor III. Varanes III.
395	Honorius *(in the West).*	———
424	Valentinian III.	
455	Eight short reigns (*see p.* 179).	*For the continuation, see table III.*
475	Romulus—Augustulus—Fall of the Western empire in 476.	

TABLE III.

A. D.	EASTERN OR GREEK EMPERORS.	PERSIAN KINGS.
395	Arcadius.	
399	.....	Isdegerdes I.
408	Theodosius II	
420	.....	Varanes IV.
440	.....	Isdegerdes II
450	Marcian.	
457	Leo the Thracian.	Peroses.
474	Zeno.	
488	.....	Balasces.
491	Anastasius I.	Cabades.
518	Justin I.	
527	Justinian I.	
531	.....	Chosroes I.
565	Justin II.	
578	Tiberius II.	
579	.....	Horsmisdas III.
582	Mauritius.	
590	.....	Chosroes II.
602	Phocas.	
610	Heraclius.	
628	.....	Siroes.
632	....	Isdegerdes III, last king.
		Mahomet. Arabian Caliphs.
632	.....	Abu-Beker.
634	.....	Omar.
641	Constantine III.—Constans II.	
644	.....	Othman.
656	.....	Ali. *Ommiades.*
661	.....	Moavias.
668	Constantine IV,—Pogonatus.	After his death, there was a rapid succession of twelve caliphs during the space of sixty-four years, terminating in
685	Justinian II.	
711	Philippicus.	
713	Anastasius II	
716	Theodos. III.	
717	Leo the Isaurian.	
741	Constantine V,—Copronymus.	
744	.....	Mervan, the last of the Ommiades.

TABLE IV.

A. D.	EASTERN OR GREEK EMPERORS.	ARABIAN CALIPHS; ABASSIDES.
750	.....	Aboul-Abbas.
754	.....	Abou-Giafar Almanzor.
775	Leo Chazarus	Mohammed—Mahadi.
780	Constantine V, and Irene	
785	.....	Hadi.
786	.....	Aaron-al-Raschid.
802	Nicephorus.	
809	.....	Amin.
811	Michael I.	
813	Leo the Armenian.	Al-Mamon.
820	Michael II, the Stammerer.	
829	Theophilus.	
833	.....	Motasem.
842	Michael III.	
867	Basil, the Macedonian.	The succeeding caliphs, devoid of personal merit, lost an immense portion of their power, and retained little more than a certain pre-eminence of honor.
886	Leo the Philosopher.	
911	Alexander.	
912	Constantine VII,—Porphyrogenetes	
919	Romanus I, Leccapenes; and Constant VII, continued.	
959	Romanus II.	
963	Nicephorus Phocas.	
969	John Zimisces.	
976	Basil II—till	
1025	Then, after a series of fifteen emperors, who just appeared and disappeared, came	
1081	Alexius Comnenus, whose long reign belongs also to the epoch of the Crusades.	

TABLE V.

A. D.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY FROM THE REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.	KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM THE END OF THE HEPTARCHY.
	House of France.	*Anglo-Saxon Kings.*
800	Charlemagne.	
814	Louis I, the Débonnaire.	
827	.....	Egbert.
836	.....	Ethelwolf.
840	Lothaire I.	
855	Louis II.	
857	.....	Ethelbald.
860	.....	Ethelbert.
866	.....	Ethelred I.
871	.....	Alfred the Great.
875	Charles the Bald.	
	Interregnum of three years.	
880	Charles, the Big.	
887	Arnold.	
889	Guy.	
894	Lambert.	
900	Louis III.....	Edward the Elder.
	House of Franconia.	
912	Conrad I.	
	House of Saxony.	
919	Henry I, the Fowler.	
924	.....	Athelstan.
936	Otho I, the Great.	
940	.....	Edmund.
946	.....	Edred.
955	.....	Edwy.
959	....	Edgar.
973	Otho II.	
975	.....	Edward the Martyr.
978	.....	Ethelred II.
983	Otho III.	

TABLE VI.

A. D.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE, *from the beginning of the Capetian dynasty.*	KINGS OF SPAIN, *from the time when Castile was erected into a kingdom.*
	House of Bavaria.	*Anglo-Saxons,* Continued.		
987	.....	.....	Hugh Capet.	
996	.....	.....	Robert.	
1002	Henry II, the Saint.			
1016	.....	Edmund Ironside.		
	House of Franconia.	*Danish Kings.*		
1017	.....	Canute the Great.		
1024	Conrad II.			
1031	.....	.....	Henry I.	
1035	.....	Harold I.....	.....	Ferdinand I.
1039	Henry III.	Hardicanute.		
		Saxon line restored.		
1042	.....	Edward, the Confessor.		
1056	Henry IV.			
1060	.....	.....	Philip I.	
1065	.....	.....	.....	Sanchez.
1066	.....	Harold II.		
		Norman dynasty.		
1066	.....	William I, the Conqueror.		
1072	.....	.....	.....	Alfonso I, in Castile, and VI, as king of Leon.
1087	.....	William II, the Red.		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

REMARKABLE EVENTS

AND

ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES.

N. B. The dates in the first column, denote the years in which the events happened;—those placed in the second column, mark the years in which the persons mentioned there, died.

PART I.

B. C.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.
31	Battle of Actium.
29	Change of the Roman Republic into an Empire.
20	Roman Ensigns recovered from the Parthians.
8	Temple of Janus shut. Birth of Christ.
A. D.	
4	Conspiracy of Cinna.
9	Defeat of Varus in Germany.
15	German war.
31	Conspiracy of Sejanus.
33	Passion of our Savior—Descent of the Holy Ghost—Foundation of the Church.
43	Invasion of Great Britain.
60	Conquest of Armenia.
64	First persecution against the Church.
70	Siege and destruction of Jerusalem.
79	Eruption of Mount Vesuvius.
93	Second persecution.
106	Third persecution.
136	Final overthrow of the Jews.
162	Fourth persecution.
174	Miracle of the thundering legion.

B. C. ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES.

Cicero—Sallust—Varro—Cornelius Nepos, died about this time, or a little before.

Young Marcellus died, B. C. 23—Virgil, poet, 19—Agrippa, general, 12—Drusus, general, 9—Horace, poet, 8—Mæcenas, statesman, 8.

A. D.

Livy, historian, died A. D. 17—Ovid, poet, 17—Arminius, general, ——Germanicus, 19—Strabo, geographer, 25—Livia, empress, 29—Velleius-Paterculus, historian, 31—Phædrus, fabulist, . . .—Quintus-Curtius, historian, . . .—Philo, Jewish doctor. . .

Persius, poet, 62—Lucan, poet 65—Seneca, philosopher, 65—Corbulo, general, 66—Suetonius-Paulinus . . . . .—St. Peter and St. Paul, Apostles, 67.

Pliny, the Elder, naturalist, 79—Agricola, general, 93—Josephus, historian, . . .—Quintilian, rhetorician . . .—St. John, the Evangelist, 101—St. Ignatius, bishop and martyr, 107—Tacitus, his-

A. D.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.	ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES.
193	The empire put up at auction.	torian, . .—Pliny the Younger . . Juvenal, poet, 128--Plutarch historian, 140—Justin, historian. . .
197	Battle of Lyons between Severus and Albinus.	St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna and martyr, 166—St. Justin, martyr, 167.
202	Fifth persecution.	Between 140 and 180, died Ptolemy, the astronomer—Arrian, the historian, and Lucian, the satirist.
226	Fall of the Parthian empire—New kingdom of Persia.	Galenus, physician, about 200.
235	Sixth persecution.	St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, 202—Clement of Alexandria, doctor, 216—Tertullian, about 220.
249	Seventh persecution.	Dio-Cassius, historian, about 230.
257	Eighth persecution.	St. Cornelius, pope and martyr, 252—Origen, 253—St. Cyprian, archbishop of Carthage, 258—St. Lawrence, martyr, 258.
260	Captivity of Valerian.	Plotinus, philosopher, 270—Longinus, rhetorician, 273—Zenobia, queen.
262	Universal and dreadful pestilence.	
273	Destruction of Palmyra.	
275	Ninth persecution.	
286	Martyrdom of the Theban legion.	
303	Tenth and last general persecution, the most bloody of all.	

PART II.

312	Victory of Constantine over Maxentius—Triumph of Christianity.	Arnobius, rhetorician and doctor, about 320.
323	Licinius repeatedly defeated and finally overthrown by Constantine.	Lactantius, historian and doctor, about 328.
325	First General Council, at Nice.	Eusebius, historian and controvertist, 338 or 339.
330	Foundation of Constantinople	
351	Battle of Mursa.	St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, 368—St. Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria, 373—St. Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, 379.
363	The attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem defeated by a splendid prodigy--His campaign and death in Persia.	
378	Battle of Adrianople.	Between 364 and 394, died the historians Eutropius, Ammianus Marcellinus and Aurelius Victor.
381	Second General Council at Constantinople.	
388	Defeat and death of the usurper Maximus.	St. Cyril, archbishop of Jerusalem, 386—St. Gregory Nazianzen, archbishop of Constantinople, 389—St. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, 396.
390	Fault and repentance of Theodosius.	
394	Miraculous victory of Theodosius over Eugenius and Arbogastes.	Rufinus, statesman, 395—St. Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, 397—St. Epiphanius, archbishop of Salamis, 403—St. John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, 407—Stilico, general and statesman, 408.
395	Final division of empire.	
402-5	Defeat of the Goths in Italy.	
406-9	Gaul and Spain invaded by the Vandals and other barbarians.	

A. D.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.	ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES.
410	Rome taken and plundered by the Goths.	Alaric, king of the Goths, 410—Rufinus of Aquileia, historian, 410—Prudentius, poet, 410—Claudian, poet; and Macrobius, historian, about 415.
418	They settle in the southern provinces of Gaul.	Sulpitius-Severus, historian, 420.
420	Beginning of the French monarchy.	St. Jerom, doctor of the Church, 420—Constantius, general and statesman, 421—St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, 430.
421	Roman troops entirely withdrawn from Great Britain—Inroads of the Picts and Scots.	Count Boniface, general, 432.
430	Africa subdued by the Vandals.	Socrates, historian, about 440—St. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, 444—St. Peter Chrysologus, archbishop of Ravenna, 450—Sozomen, historian, about 450.
431	Third General Council, at Ephesus.	
438	Publication of the Theodosian code.	
451	Ravages of the Huns—Battle of the Catalaunian plains.	St. Pulcheria, empress, 453—Attila, king of the Huns, 453—Ætius, general, 456.
451	Fourth General Council at Chalcedon.	
452	Pope St. Leo before Attila—Foundation of Venice.	St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland, about 460.
455	Rome plundered by the Vandals.	
455	First establishment of the Anglo-Saxons in Great Britain.	Theodoret, bishop of Cyre, 458—St. Leo the Great, pope, 461.
472-3	Spain conquered by the Visigoths.	Ricimer, general and statesman, 472—Hengist, Saxon chieftain, 474—Genseric, king of the Vandals, 477.
476	Fall of the Western empire.	

PART III.

486-96	Conquests of the Franks in Gaul—Their conversion to Christianity.	St. Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, 482—Evaric, king of the Visigoths, 484—Odoacer, king of Italy, 493.
489-93	Ostrogoths in Italy.	Clovis, king of the Franks, 511—Boetius, philosopher and statesman, 524—Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, 526—Amalasontes, queen, 535.
526	Tremendous earthquakes—Overthrow and rebuilding of Antioch.	
529	Justinian code.	
532	First use of the Christian era in Italy.	St. Fulgentius, bishop of Rusp, 533.
534	Kingdom of the Vandals destroyed.	
551	Silk manufacture brought from India to Europe.	Dionysius Exiguus, the monk, 540—St. Benedict, founder of the Benedictine order, 543.
553	Fifth General Council, at Constantinople.	
553-4	Kingdom of the Ostrogoths destroyed—Battle of Casilino.	Totila and Teias, kings of the Ostrogoths, 553-54.

A. D.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.	ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES.
568	The Lombards in Italy—Exarchate of Ravenna remains to the Greeks.	Cassiodorus, statesman and doctor, 562—Procopius, historian; Belisarius, general, 565—Narses, general, 568.
576	Battle of Melitine—Signal defeat of the Persians.	Alboin, king of the Lombards, 574.
584	Extraordinary inundations in Italy.	
587	Conversion of the Visigoths to the true faith.	
592	Bloody revolutions in Persia.	
597	Anglo-Saxons begin to embrace Christianity.	Evagrius, historian—St. Gregory of Tours, historian, 595—St. Gregory the Great, pope, 604—St. Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, 607.
602	Tragical end of the emperor Mauritius and his family.	Fortunatus, poet, 609.
614-15	Ravages of the Persians in Syria and Palestine.	
622, et seq.	Exploits of Heraclius against the Persians.	St. Isidore, archbishop of Seville, 636—St. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, 638.
622	Rise of Mahometanism.	
634	Saracens invade Syria.	
636	..... Persia.	
637	..... Palestine.	
639	..... Mesopotamia.	
640	..... Egypt.	About the middle of the 7th century, four celebrated Mussulmen generals, Abu-Obeyda, Kaled, Amrou, Saad.
641	Burning of the Alexandrian library.	Shortly after, four others, Moavias, Oucba, Zuheir, Assan.
651	Extinction of the second Persian monarchy.	
673	Invention of the Grecian fire—Siege of Constantinople during seven years.	Callinicus, chemist, about 675.
680	Sixth General Council, at Constantinople.	
697	Northern Africa, subjugated by the Saracens—Destruction of Carthage.	
711	Invasion of Spain—Battle of Xeres, which put an end to the kingdom of the Visigoths.	Pepin Heristel, statesman and general, 714.
718	Saracens defeated by land and sea, near Constantinople.	
732	Battle of Tours—New defeat of the Saracens—Germany receives the light of the Gospel.	Venerable Bede, doctor and historian, 735—Charles-Martel, duke of France, 741—Luitprand, king of the Lombards, 743—St. Zachary, pope, 752.
752	Merovingian family succeeded on the throne of France by the Dynasty of Carlovingian kings—Exarchate of Ravenna conquered by the Lombards.	

A. D.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.	ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES.
755	Temporal dominion of the Popes.	St. Boniface, apostle of Germany, 755.
756	Foundation of the kingdom of Cordova in Spain.	
763	Excessive cold and heat.	Pepin, king of France, 768.
774	Extinction of the kingdom of the Lombards.	
787	Seventh General Council, at Nice.	St. John Damascene, doctor of the Church, 780.
796	The Saxons subdued and the Avari prostrated by the arms of Charlemagne.	Adrian I, pope, 795.
800	Charlemagne crowned emperor of the West.	Witikind, Saxon general, about 800.

PART IV.

811	The emperor Nicephorus defeated and slain by the Bulgarians.	Paul of Aquileia, historian, 801. Alcuin, doctor, 804.
827	End of the English Heptarchy.	
841	Battle of Fontenay.	Eginhard, historian, about 842.
857	Commencement of the Greek schism.	Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, 856—Lupus, abbot of Ferieres, doctor, 862—Paschasius Radbertus, doctor, 865.
869	Eighth General Council, at Constantinople.	Anastasius, the librarian, 880.
878	King Alfred compelled to take refuge in a small island; then defeats the Danes, and recovers his kingdom.	Photius, first author of the Greek schism, about 892—Alphonso III, king of Oviedo in Spain, 912.
912	Imperial crown transferred from the French to the German princes——Normans take possession of Neustria.	
921	Battle of Jonquera—Christians of Spain defeated by the Moors.	
939	Battle of Simancas—Moors defeated by the Christians.	Rollo, Norman chieftain, 932.
955	Battle of Mersburg; Hungarians completely defeated by Otho I.	Abderame III, king of Cordova, 961—St. Bruno, archbishop of Cologne and statesman, 965—Flodoardus, historian, 966.
971	Tremendous battle of Drista between the Greeks and the Russians.	
972	Fatimites in Egypt.	Fernando Gonzalez, count, sovereign of Castile, 979—Mahomet Almanzor, Saracen general, 998.
987	Capetian kings in France.—Invention of clocks with balance.—Gothic Cathedrals.	

A. D.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.	ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES.
1018	Normans in Italy.	Sylvester II, (Gerbert), pope, 1003.
1022	Invention of the Gamut, or scale of musical notes.	Guy, monk of Arezzo, about 1025.
1040	First conquests of the Seljukian Turks.	Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, 1029.
1035	The kingdoms of Castile and Arragon begin.	
1053	Renewal of the Greek schism by Michael Cærularius.	
1066	Battle of Hastings; England conquered by the Normans.	St. Peter Damian, cardinal and doctor, 1072.
1085	Toledo taken from the Saracens.	St. Gregory VII, (Hildebrand), pope, 1085—Lanfrancus, archbishop of Canterbury, 1089.
1095	Rise of the kingdom of Portugal.	Rodriguez Diaz-de-Bivar, (El Cid) general, about 1095.

TABLE OF THE AUTHORS

WHOSE WORKS, WHETHER QUOTED OR NOT IN THE COURSE OF THIS VOLUME, HAVE CHIEFLY SERVED FOR ITS COMPOSITION.

ANQUETIL: *Précis de l'Histoire Universelle;* Paris edition, 1818, 8 vols. 8vo.

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DESORMEAUX: *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne*, 5 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1759. This author, generally exact in the historical part, is frequently wrong and unjust in his remarks.

EUSEBIUS: *Ecclesiast. History*, translated by C. F. Cruse, 1 vol. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1834; and also, together with the *Life of Constantine the Great*, edit. of Henri de Valois (Greek and Latin), one vol. folio, Paris, 1659.

FELLER: *Dictionnaire Historique, ou Histoire abrégée des hommes célèbres.* The text of Feller being sometimes altered in the latest editions, those who desire to have it pure and untouched, should have recourse to the more ancient ones; v. g. to that of Lyons, 1821, 12 vols. 8vo.

FLECHIER: *Histoire de l'Empereur Théodose-le-grand*, 1 vol. 12mo.

FLEURY: *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 25 vols. 8vo. Nismes, 1779.

FRANTIN: *Annales du moyen age*, 8 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1825.

G.*** (M.): *Pouvoir du Pape au moyen age*, 1 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1839.

GAHAN: *History of the Church*, 1 vol. 12mo.; short, and having some little inaccuracies, yet generally full of sound information.

Histoire du Bas. Empire (A. M. SS. C. G.), 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1838.

Histoire Universelle, (translated from the English), 125 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1779; especially the vols. 21–26, and 41–46, have been used.

GREGORY OF TOURS (ST.) *Historiæ Francorum libri decem;* 1 vol. small 8vo. Paris, 1561.

JEROM (ST.): *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis;* in the Benedictine edition, Paris, 1706, part II. of vol. iv. p. 101, et seq.

JOSEPHUS, the Jewish historian; last books of his *Antiquities*, and the seven books of his *Jewish War;* English translation of Whitson, or French of Arnaud d'Andilly.

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LADVOCAT: *Dictionnaire Historique*, 2 vols. 8vo., Paris, 1755.

LACTANTIUS: *De Morte Persecutorum;* to be found in the end of the sixteenth and last volume of the *Lives of the Saints*, Lille, 1824.

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LINGARD: *History of England;* the two first volumes, 8vo. of the third edition, London, 1825.

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MAISTRE (COUNT DE): *Du pape*, 2 vols. 8vo. Lyons, 1819.

MIGNOT: *Discours Historique sur Mahomet et ses successeurs;* at the beginning of *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1 vol. 4to. Paris, 1771.

ORLEANS (F. D.): *Histoire des Révolutions d'Espagne*, from the best Spanish historians, MARIANA and others; 3 vols. 4to. Paris, 1734.

..... *Histoire des Révolutions d'Angleterre*, 4 vols. 12mo. Amsterdam, 1766.

PETAVIUS: *Rationarium Temporum*, 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1703.

ROY: *Histoire de Charlemagne*, 1 vol. 12mo.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (ST.): *Epistola et Carmina*, edit. Sirmondi, Paris, 1614.

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SUETONIUS: *Duodecim Cæsares*, 2 vols. 8vo. which are the 98th and 99th of the Collection of Classics, or *Bibliotheca Latina Classica*, Paris, 1828.

SULPITIUS SEVERUS: *Historiæ Sacræ libri duo*, 1 vol. 18mo. edit. of Mercier, Paris, 1659.

TACITUS, the gravest, the most concise and energetic of historians, 1 vol. 12mo. in the edition of Lallemant, 4 vols. 8vo. in the Collection of Classics, from vol. 100 to 104.

TERTULLIAN: *Apologeticus adversùs gentes et de Præscriptionibus adversùs hær.*; 1 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1828.

THEODORET, Greek historian, edit. of Henri de Valois, Paris, 1673.

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TILLEMONT (LE NAIN DE): *Histoire des Empereurs*, 6 vols. 4to. Paris, 1690; so learned, and so exact in his continual quotations of ancient authors, that, for the historical parts of which he treats, he can supply the deficiency of all other historians.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS: *Historiæ libri duo;* 1 vol. 12mo. edit. of Abbé Paul, or the 125th vol. 8vo. in the Collection of Classics.

VOIGT: *Histoire du Pape Grégoire VII*, translated from the German by Abbé Jager, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1838.

Many other works have been occasionally resorted to and consulted, which we purposely omit mentioning, because their enumeration would be of little or no utility to the reader.

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